HISTORY
OF
HENRY IV.
SURNAMED
The Great,
King of *France* and *Navarre*.

Written Originally in French,

By the Biſhop of *Rodez*, once Tutor to his now moſt Chriſtian Majeſty;

And made Engliſh by *J. D.*

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To his Sacred Majesty,

CHARLES

THE SECOND,

King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*.

Dread *SIR*,

With all that *humble* Reverence that *becomes* a *Low* but *Loyal Subject* and *Servant* to his Soveraign *Lord* and *Master*, cast I at Your *feet* this present *Address*. Those *Stars*

that move in the *Loweſt* Orb, receive their *light* and *luſtre* from the *Sun*, as well as *thoſe* that *wander* in a more *exalted* heaven; and therefore, may poſsibly be *capable* to return ſome *grateful* Influences, though not in ſo great a *quantity*, yet in a *quality* as *pure* and *candid*.

However, all my *courage* could not have *inſpired* me with a *preſumption* to *preſent* any thing of *mine* to ſo *glorious* a Majeſty, had it not born in its *Frontiſpice* the name of HENRY THE GREAT,

GREAT, Your *Royal* and *Renowned* Grandfather; a *Prince* of ſo *Sublime* a Virtue, of ſo *Heroick* a Courage, of ſuch *Activity* in War, and ſuch *Prudence* in Peace, that he *juſtly* became both the *love* and *terror* of the age he lived in.

And, *Great Sir*, give me leave to tell you, that never did the *Life* of any *Prince* ſince the *Creation*, bear ſo equal a *Parallel* with *Your Maieſtie's*, as that of this *Renowned* King. If your *miſeries* and *misfortunes* have *exceeded* his, God hath made

it by *evident* Demonſtrances *appear* that he *intends* to make your *Glories* and *Happineſs* as far *ſurpaſs* thoſe of your *Royal* Grandfather. *You both* had *Leaguers* armed with *Rebellion*, *Obſtinacy* and *Ambition*, under a *Cloak* of *zeal* to *Religion*, to *oppoſe* you; and *you both*, aſsiſted by a *Miraculous* Providence of Heaven, *overcame* them. *You both* by Arms long *ſtrugled* for your Rights: but as if God had intended *you both* for *true Fathers* of your *Countries*, and the *Foundations* whereon he would ſettle

an

an abſolute *happineſs* in your *Kingdoms*, ſo long *afflicted* with *Civil* Wars, and thoſe *terrours* which attend them; he brought *you both* to *ſpotleſs* Thrones, *unbeſmeared* with *blood*.

How ſoon was *France* redeemed from thoſe *plagues* it ſo long had *endured*, at the *entrance* of the *Great Henry* into the *Chair* of *Royalty*, who as a *Riſing* Sun, *darted* forth thoſe *Salutiferous* rayes which *ſhone* upon, and *enriched* the *remoteſt* parts of his Territories! How ſoon were all *Factions* diſsipated!

and how ſoon did he by his *Prudent* Conduct *reconcile* the moſt *obſtinate* Spirits! In fine, in how ſhort time was *France*, from a Den of *Atheiſts*, *Theeves*, and *Robbers*, become the Nurſery of *Piety*, *Arts* and *Induſtry*!

England (Dread Soveraign) *ſuffered* under the ſame *Fate* her neighbouring *Siſter* had long ſince been *Subject* to, when *Heaven* was *graciouſly* pleaſed to *reſtore* you to your *Crown*: And you have *already* made us not onely *hope*, but *ſee*, that you have *deſigned* to

reſtore to us ſuch *happineſſes*, that we cannot juſtly *envy* thoſe which *France* enjoyed under her *beloved* HENRY. How well have you *ſetled* both our *Church* and *State*? How well have you *reconciled* our *Diſſentions*? with how much *too* great a *mercy* (give me Sir leave to *fear* ſo) have you *pardoned* the moſt *obſtinate* of your enemies? and how may we *hope* (if the *malice* of thoſe *obſtinate* Spirits yet *diſturb* not our *Tranquillity*) to enjoy under your Government the moſt *happy* and *flouriſhing* daies

that

that ever *Great Britain* beheld!

But Sir, that I may conclude, and not ſeem tedious to your Majeſty; may the *God of heaven* inſpire into the *hearts* of your *people* a true *ſenſe* of your *goodneſs* and *paternal* love to them; may he *correct* the *improbous* malice of thoſe who yet dare to be your *enemies*; may he *incline* you ſtill to *proſecute* ſuch *Maximes* of *good* Government, both in *Church* and *State*, as may make both equally *Flouriſh*; may he *Augment* your *Glories*, and raiſe

raiſe them *above* thoſe of your *Grand-father*, HENRY the Fourth; may he *bleſs* us *all*, by giving you a *long* and *happy* Reign; and when that *miſery* (though late) *arrives* us of loſing you, may we yet be made *bleſſed* in that *Succeſsion* from your *Loynes* that may *endure for ever*. Thus Prayes,

SIR,

The **humbleſt** *and* **faithfulleſt**, *though the* **meaneſt** *of your Majeſties Subjects and Servants*,

J. D.

The Translator *to the* Reader.

BEhold here a History compiled by one of the most able, and (let me testifie thus much) one of the most moderate and impartial Pens of *Europe*. It was fitted for the hand of a King; and is the Life of one whom his own Actions will declare to have better deserved the name of *Great*, then that proud *Macedonian*, who wept that he had no more Worlds to conquer. For though he gained not such signal Victories, nor over-ran so many Countries; yet he was possessed of more Vertues, then the other of Cities; and Vertue is the fairest Mother of true Greatness. But, *Reader*, I foretstal thy delight in its Reading: go on, therefore; but with Deliberation.

J. D.

The

THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

READER,

THis *Hiſtory of* Henry *the Great, is onely a ſmall part of the Summary or Epitomy of the general Hiſtory of* France, *which I have compoſed by the command of the King, and for the inſtruction of his Majeſty. It having been my intention onely to gather together all that might ſerve to form*

a great Prince, and render him capable of Reigning well; I have not thought it convenient to enter into a particular Recital of things, or to recount at length all Wars and Affairs, as Hiſtorians do, who are to write for all ſorts of perſons. I have onely took the Sum, and recounted thoſe Circumſtances I have judged the faireſt, and the moſt inſtructive; leaving apart all the reſt, to ſhorten matter, and to give in epitomy an account of all that paſſed, which might inform the ſpirit of the King, without ſurcharging his memory. This hath been my deſigne: if it hath not ſucceeded ſo well as could be wiſh'd, I hope, READER, *that my Endeavour will appear praiſe-worthy. I doubt not but there are in this Work ſome Miſtakes which I may not have perceived, but which cannot eſcape Eyes more clear-*

clear-ſighted. The Hiſtory is accompanied with ſo many Circumſtances, that it is almoſt impoſſible not to be deceived in ſome: Yet I believe I have written nothing for which I have not my Warrant. And if you finde in any Author the contrary of what I have ſaid, I intreat you to conſider that our Hiſtorians do in many things ſo differ among themſelves, that who takes the judgement of one, muſt neceſſarily contradict the other. In this diverſity I have followed thoſe whom I believed the beſt and moſt aſſured. I acknowledge likewiſe that I could not refrain borrowing from them whole Paragraphs where they have pleaſed me, and that I have thought I could better explain my ſelf by their Expreſſions, then my own. However, if this be a fault, it is but a light one, and ought to be par-

pardoned, since ingenuously confest. For other more remarkable ones I may have committed, I presume on your goodness, that, Reader, you will not treat me with the utmost rigour; but that you will have as much indulgence for me, as I have in this Work had Zeal for the Service of my King, and Affection for the good of France.

The

THE HISTORY OF HENRY the Great, King of *France* and *Navarre*.

To the King.

SIR,

THat Reſpect and Love which all good French-men have ſtill conſerved for the happy Memory of King *Henry* the Great your Grandfather, repreſents it ſelf as freſh to their remembrance, as if he ſtill reigned; and

Renown conſerves the Splendour of his fair Actions in the Hearts and Mouthes of Men, as lively and entirely as in the time of his Triumphs. But we may ſay moreover, when we conſider your Majeſty, That he hath regained a new Life in your Perſon, and that he makes himſelf dayly be ſeen under a Viſage yet more Auguſt, and by Vertues which appear as redoubtable to the Enemies of *France*, as they are ſweet and charming to its People.

In truth, Sir, that praiſe-worthy Impatience which your Majeſty hath teſtified (when I preſented our Hiſtory to your reading) to come to this glorious Reign, and for it to leave behind ſeven or eight others of Kings that preceded him, is a moſt certain proof that you deſire him for your Model, and that you have reſolved to ſtudy his Conduct, and conſerve it in the Government of your Eſtates. Your happy Birth, and your Inclinations wholly Royal, lead you to it: The Hopes and Votes of your Subjects agree to it: The Neceſſities of your Kingdom, afflicted with the Miſeries of the longeſt War it ever ſuſtained, oblige you to it; and Heaven hath diſpoſed you to it by ſo many Graces and eminent Qualities, that it would be difficult for you not to follow the fair Examples of this great Monarch. I dare likewiſe ſay (and I may ſpeak it with truth) that it will not be impoſſible for you to ſurpaſs him, if you enforce your ſelf to improve well all thoſe Advantages wherewith Heaven hath endowed you above other Princes of your Age. Yes,

Yes, Sir, he hath to you, as well as to the King your Grandfather, given a generous Soul, good and beneficent; a Spirit elevated, and capable of the greateſt things; a Memory happy and facile; a Courage Heroick and Martial; a Judgement neat and ſolid; a ſtrong and vigorous Health: but he hath moreover given you one Advantage this great Prince never had; that is, A Majeſtick Preſence; an Air and Port almoſt Divine; a Perſon and Beauty worthy the Empire of the Univerſe, which attracts the Eyes and Reſpects of all the World, and which without the force of Arms, without the authority of Commands, will gain you all thoſe by whom your Majeſty ſhall make your Self be ſeen.

I will not ſpeak of the Proſperities of your Eſtates ſince your happy Advancement to the Crown; how you have been proclaimed Conquerer as ſoon as King; how by the aſſiſting Counſels of your great Miniſters, your Frontiers have been extended on all ſides, and your Enemies everywhere defeated: but I ought not to forget that ſingular Grace which Heaven hath conferred on you, by inſtructing you in the Catholick Religion, and in true Piety, by the continual Diligences and Examples of the Queen your Mother; that which was without doubt wanting to the Youth of our *Henry*.

You cannot, Sir, with ſo fair Diſpoſitions, with ſo many ſuper-excelling Favours of Heaven, be confined beneath the Glory and Re-

putation of this great Prince. Remember, if you please, that you have done me the honour to tell me more then once, that you ardently aspire to a like Perfection, and that you have no greater Ambition. All *France*, who at present have their Eyes upon you, rejoyce to see the Effects already second your Desires, and that you strive as puissantly to imitate, as you have passionaely desired to hear the Recital of so fair a Life.

"Your Majesty knows that Wills pass but "for Weaknesses, when they render not them- "selves efficacious; and are so far from being "worthy praise, that they condemn those "who have them so much the more, because "they see well what they ought to do, and "have not the heart to attempt or enterprize "it. The way of Vertue at first glance seems "rude, but it conducts to the Temple of "Glory; where it is certain we arrive not by "simple Thoughts, and idle Discourses, but "by Labour, Application and Perseverance.

I have often taken the Liberty to represent to your Majesty, That Royalty is no Infant-Mystery; That it consists almost altogether in Action; That a King ought to make his Duty his Delights; and, That he ought to know how to Reign; that is, how to hold himself the Helm of his Estate, the better to Conduct them with Vigour, Wisdome and Justice.

"Who knows not that there is no Honour "in bearing a Title, without executing the "Functions of it? That it is in vain to have

"acquisted

"acquisted the best Knowledge, without la-
"bouring to reduce it into practice? That
"it is ridiculous to propose to our selves a
"great Model, unless it be effectually imita-
"ted? And in fine, that it is nothing to un-
"derstand by heart all the Maximes of Poli-
"cy, if we apply them not to their right Use?
"Without lying, he that hath Eyes, and will
"not open them; who hath Arms, and will
"not take the pains to move them, is in a
"worse estate then the Blinde or the Crip-
"ple.

I cannot dissemble, Sir, that unspeakable Joy I have sometimes conceived, when I have understood from the Mouth of your Majesty, *that you would chuse rather never to have worn a Crown, then not your Self to govern it*, but resemble those Infant-Kings of the first Race, who, as all our Historians say, served onely as Idols to the Majors of their Palace; and who had had no Name, but onely to mark the year in the Chronologie.

But it will be enough to make *France* know how much your Majesty condemns that sleepy Lethargie, to tell them that you are at present resolved to imitate your Grandfather *Henry* the Great, who hath been the most active and most laborious of all our Kings; who hath dedicated himself with most Diligence to the Management of his Affairs, and who hath cherished his Estates and People with most Affection and most Tenderness. This is to declare that your Majesty hath taken a firm Resolu-

tion to put your hand to the Work; to know both the inside and outside of your Realm; to preside in your Counsels; to give feet and motion to all Resolutions; to have a continual Eye over your Revenues; to cause a true, faithful and exact Account to be given; to distribute Graces and Recompences to those of your Creatures shall prove worthy: in fine, fully and amply to enjoy your Authority. It is thus the incomparable *Henry* acted, whom we are about to see reign, not onely in *France* by right of Blood, but over all *Europe* by the esteem of his Vertue.

In effect, since the first foundation of the *French* Monarchy, the History furnisheth us not with any Reign more memorable, by reason of the great Events, more repleat with the wonders of Divine Assistance, more glorious for the Prince, and more happy for the People, then his: and it is without Flattery or Envy that all the Universe hath given him the surname of *Great*; not so much for the greatness of his Victories, however comparable to those of *Alexander* or *Pompey*, as for the greatness of his Soul and of his Courage: for he never bow'd either under the Insults of Fortune, or under the Traverses of his Enemies, or under the Resentments of Revenge, or under the Artifices of Favorites or Ministers: he remained always in the same temper, always Master of himself. In a word, he remained always King and Soveraign, without acknowledging other Superiour then God, Justice and Reason.

Let

Let us then proceed to write the History of his Life; which we shall divide into three principal Parts. The Life of *Hen.* the Great, divided into three parts.

The first shall contain what happened from his Birth till his coming to the Crown of *France.* The first.

The second shall speak what he did after he came to it, until the Peace of *Vervin.* The second

And the third shall recount his Actions after the Peace of *Vervin*, until the unhappy day of his death. The third.

But before all, it is necessary we speak something briefly of his Genealogie.

He was Son to *Anthony de Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme* and King of *Navarre*, and of *Jane* of *Albret*, Heiress of that Kingdome. His Genealogie.

Anthony descended in a direct and Masculine Line from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, fifth Son to King St. *Lewis*. Who *Anthon. de Bourbon* his father was.

This *Robert* espoused *Beatrix*, Daughter and Heiress to *John* of *Burgoyne*, Baron of *Bourbon*, by his Wife *Agnes*; for which cause *Robert* took the Name of *Bourbon*, but not the Arms, still keeping those of *France*.

This sage Pre-caution served well to his Descendants, to maintain themselves in the Degree of Princes of the Blood, which those

a Peter, *sixth Son to* Lewis le gros, *espoused* Isabella *Heiress of* Courtnay, *and took both Name and Arms: a fault very prejudicial to his posterity.*

of *Courtnay* (a) lost, for not having acted in the same manner. And besides the Vertue which gave a splendour to their Actions, the good management and œconomy which they exercised to conserve and augment their Revenues, the great Alliances in which they were very diligent to match themselves, ever refusing to mingle their Noble among Vulgar Blood; and above all, their rare Piety towards God, and that singular goodness wherewith they acted towards their Inferiors, conserved them, and elevated them above Princes of elder Branches; for the People seeing them always rich, puissant, wise, and in a word, worthy to command, had imprinted in their spirits as it were a prophetick perswasion that this House would one day come to the Crown; and they on their side seemed to have conceived this hope, though it were at great distance, having taken for their Word or Device, *Espoir*, or *Hope*.

b *The branch of* Bourbon *produced many; among others that of* Vendosme.

Among the younger Branches which issued from this Branch of *Bourbon* (b), the most considerable and most illustrious was that of *Vendosme*. It carried this Name, because they possessed that great Country, which came to them in the year 1364. by the marriage of *Katharine Vendosme*, (Sister and Heiress to *Bouchard* last Count of *Vendosme*) with *John* of *Bourbon* Count of the *Marches*. At present it was but a County, but was after made a Dutchy by King *Francis* the first, in the year 1514. in favour of *Charles*, who was great grand-

grand-childe to *John*, and father of *Anthony*. This *Charles* had ſeven Male-Children; *Lewis*, *Anthony*, *Francis*, another *Lewis*, *Charles*, *John*, and a third *Lewis*: the firſt *Lewis* and the ſecond died in their infancy; *Anthony* remained the eldeſt; *Francis*, who was Count of *Anguien*, and gained the Battel of *Ceriſoles*, died without being married. *Charles* was a Cardinal of the title of *Chryſogone*, and Archbiſhop of *Rouen*: this is he who was named The old Cardinal of *Bourbon*. *John* loſt his life at the Battel of St. *Quintin*. The third *Lewis* was called The Prince of *Condé*, and by two Marriages had ſeveral Male-Children; from the firſt deſcended *Henry* Prince of *Condé*, *Francis* Prince of *Conty*, and *Charles*, who was Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Rouen* after the Death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

Charles Duke of *Vendoſme* had *Anthony*, and ſix other ſons.

There were eight Generations from Male in Male, from St. *Lewis* to *Anthony*, who was Duke of *Vendoſme*, King of *Navarre*, and father to our *Henry*.

As for *Jane d' Albret* his Wife, ſhe was Daughter and Heireſs to *Henry* of *Albret*, King of *Navarre*, and of *Margaret du Valois*, Siſter to King *Francis* the firſt, and Widow to the Duke of *Alenzon*. *Henry d' Albret* was ſon to *John d' Albret*, who became King of *Navarre* by his Wife *Katherine du Foix*, Siſter to King *Phœbus* deceaſed without Children; for that Realm had entred into the Houſe of *Foix* by marriage, as it entred afterwards into

Who *Jane d' Albret* his Mother was.

to

to that of *Albret*, and since into that of *Bourbon*.

Ferdinand King of *Arragon*, had invaded and taken the Higher *Navarre*, that is, that part which is beyond the *Pyrænean* Hills, and the most considerable of that Realm, from King *John d' Albret*; so that by consequence there rested to him onely the Lower, that is, that beneath the Mountains towards *France*: but with it he had the Countries of *Bearn*, of *Albrett*, of *Foix*, of *Armagnac*, of *Bigorra*, and many other great Signories coming as well by the House of *Foix*, as that of *Albret*.

Henry his Son had onely one Daughter, *Jane*, who was called The Minion of Kings: for King *Henry* her Father, and the great King *Francis* the first her Uncle, with Envy to each other, strove most to cherish her.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth had cast his Eyes on her, and caused her to be demanded of her Father for his Son *Philip* the second; proposing this as a means to pacifie their Differences touching the Kingdome of *Navarre*: but King *Francis* the first, not thinking it fit to introduce so puissant an Enemy into *France*, causing her to come to *Chasteller ault*, affianced her to the Duke of *Cleves*; and after releasing her of that Contract, married her to *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme*: and the Marriage was solemnized at *Moulins*, in the year 1547. the same year that *Francis* the first died.

Anth. of *Bourbon*, Duke of *Vendosme*, and *Jane d' Albret*, married at *Moulins* 1547.

The

The two young Spouſes had in their firſt three or four years, two Sons; both which died at *Berceau* by accidents very extraordinary: the firſt, becauſe its Governeſs being her ſelf cold of nature, kept it ſo hot, that ſhe ſtifled it with heat; and the ſecond by the careleſſneſs of the Nurſe, who playing with a Gentleman, as they danced the Childe from one to another, let it fall to the ground, ſo that it died in torment. Thus Heaven deprived them of theſe two little Princes, to make way for our *Henry*; who merited well both the Birth-right, and to be an onely Son.

Let us now come to the Hiſtory of his Life.

The

The First PART OF THE LIFE OF HENRY the Great:

Containing his History from his Birth, until he came to the Crown of *FRANCE.*

1552. Henry the Great conceived at *la Fleche.*

IT hath not been precisely known in what place *Henry* the Great was conceived. The common opinion holds that it was at *la Fleche* in *Anjou*; there where *Anthony* of *Bourbon* his father, and the Princess of *Navarre* his mother, sojourned from the end of *February*, *anno* 1552, until
1553. the middle of *May*, in the year 1553. But it is certain that she first perceived her conception, and felt it move, at the Camp in *Picardy*, where she was with her husband, who was Governour of that Province, and who was gone from *la Fleche* to command an Army against *Charles* the fifth. It was most just, that he

he who was deſtined to be an extraordinary Prince, ſhould begin the firſt motions of his life in a Camp, at the noiſe of Trumpets and Cannon, as a true childe of *Mars*. Part I.

His grandfather *Henry d'Albret*, who yet lived, having underſtood that his daughter was with childe, recalled her home to him; deſiring himſelf to take care for the conſervation of this new fruit, which, by a ſecret pre-ſentiment, he was wont to ſay ought to revenge him of thoſe injuries the Spaniards had done him.

This courageous Princeſs taking then leave of her husband, parted from *Compeigne* the fifteenth of *November*; traverſed all *France* to the *Pyrenæan* mountains, and arrived at *Pau* in *Bearne*, where the King her father was, the fourth day of *December*, not having ſtay'd above eighteen or nineteen days on her journey: and the thirtieth of the ſame month, ſhe was happily brought to bed of a ſon.

Before this, King *Henry d'Albret* had made his Will; which the Princeſs his daughter had a great deſire to ſee, becauſe it was reported that it was made to her diſadvantage, in favour of a Lady that good man had loved. She durſt not ſpeak to him of it; but he being advertiſed of her deſire, he promiſed to ſhew it her, and put it in her hands, when ſhe ſhould ſhew him what ſhe carried in her womb; but on condition, that at her delivery ſhe ſhould ſing a Song; *to the end* (ſaid he) *that thou bringſt not into the world a weak and weep-*

Part I.

weeping infant. The Princeſs promiſed him; and had ſo much courage, that maugre the great pains ſhe ſuffered, ſhe kept her word, and ſung one in the *Bearnois* language, ſo ſoon as ſhe underſtood he was entred into the chamber. It was obſerved that the infant, contrary to the common order of Nature, came into the world without weeping or crying. Nor was it fit, that a Prince who ought to be the joy of all *France*, ſhould be born among tears and groans.

His mother ſings at her delivery of him.

He cries not at his birth.

So ſoon as he was born, his grandfather carried him in the skirt of his Robe into his own chamber; giving his Will, which was in a box of gold, to his daughter; telling her, *My daughter, ſee there what is for you; but this is for me.* Whilſt he held the infant, he rubbed his little lips with a clove of Garlick, and made him ſuck a draught of Wine out of a golden cup; that he might render his temperament more maſculine and vigorous.

So ſoon as born, his grandfather carries him into his chamber: he rubs his lips with Garlick, & makes him taſte wine.

The Spaniards had formerly ſaid in Raillery concerning the birth of the mother of our *Henry*; *O wonder! the Cow hath brought forth an Ewe:* meaning by that word *Cow*, Queen *Margaret* her mother, whom they called ſo; and her husband, *Cow-keeper*, alluding to the Arms of *Bearn*, which are two Cows. And King *Henry* reſting aſſured of the future greatneſs of his little grandchilde, taking him often in his arms, kiſſing him; and remembring the fooliſh Raillery of the Spaniards, ſpoke with joy to all thoſe who came to viſit him,

The Spaniards Raillery concerning the birth of his mother

and

and congratulate this happie birth: *See* (said he) *how my Ewe hath now brought forth a Lion!* Part I. Her fathers Reply to it

He was baptized the year following, on *Twelfth-day*, being the sixth of *January*, 1554. For this Baptism, were expresly made Fonts of silver richly gilded; in which he was baptized, in the Chappel of the Castle of *Pau*. His Godfathers were *Henry* the second King of *France*, and *Henry d' Albret* King of *Navarre*; who gave him their Name: and the Godmother was Madam *Claudia* of *France*, after Dutchess of *Lorain*. *Jaques de Foix* then Bishop of *Lescar*, and after Cardinal, held him over the Font, in the name of the Most Christian King; and Madam *d' Andovins* in the name of Madam *Claudia* of *France*. He was baptized by the Cardinal of *Armagnac* Bishop of *Rhodez* and Vice-Legat of *Avignon*. 1554. Baptism of *Hen.* 4. His godfathers and godmother.

He was however difficult to be brought up, having seven or eight Nurses, of which the last had all the honour. At his being weaned, the King gave him for Governess *Susan de Bourbon* wife of *John d' Albret* Baron of *Miossens*, who elevated him in the Castle of *Coarasse* in *Bearn*, situated amongst the rocks and mountains. He was hard to bring up. He had for Governess Madam *de Miossens.*

His grandfather would not permit him to be nourished with that delicateness ordinarily used to persons of his quality; knowing well, that there seldom lodged other then a mean and feeble soul in a soft and tender body. He like- His grandfather permits him not to be nourished delicately,

Part I. likewiſe denied him rich habiliments, and childrens uſual bables; "or that he ſhould "be flattered or treated like a Prince; becauſe "all thoſe things were onely the cauſers of va-"nity, and rather raiſed pride in the hearts of "infants, then any ſentiments of generoſitie: but he commanded that he ſhould be habited and nouriſhed * like the other infants of the Country, and likewiſe that they ſhould accuſtom him to run and mount up the rocks; that by ſuch means he might uſe himſelf to labour, and, if we may ſpeak ſo, give a temperature to that young body, to render it the more ſtrong and vigorous: which was without doubt moſt neceſſary for a Prince who was to ſuffer ſo much to reconquer his Eſtate.

* *It hath been ſaid that he was ordinarily nouriſhed with coarſe bread, beef, cheeſe and garlick; and that oftentimes he was made to march with naked feet, and bare headed*

The death of *Henry d'Albret.* 1555.

King *Henry d'Albret* died at *Hagetman* in *Bearn*, on the five and twentieth of *May*, 1555. being aged about fifty three years, or thereabouts. He ordained by his Will, that his body ſhould be carried to *Pampelona*, to be interred with his predeceſſors; and that in the mean time it ſhould be laid in State in the Cathedral of *Leſcar* in *Bearn*. This Prince was couragious, of a great ſpirit, ſweet and courteous to all the world, and ſo nobly liberal, that *Charles* the fifth once paſſing thorow *Navarre*, was in ſuch manner received, that he proteſted he had never ſeen a more magnificent Prince.

His daughter & ſon-in-law ſucceed him,

After his death, *Jane* his daughter, and *Anthony* Duke of *Vendoſme* his ſon-in-law, ſucceeded him. They were at preſent at the Court

Court of *France*; and with much difficulty obtained their leave to retire to *Bearn*: for King *Henry* the ſecond, preſſed to it by ill Counſel, would have deprived them of the Lower *Navarre*, which yet remained to them; pretending, that all that was below the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, belonged to the Realm of *France*. They knew how juſtly to oppoſe againſt him the Eſtates of the Country; and the King durſt not too much purſue this ſubject, for fear leſt deſpair ſhould force them to call the *Spaniards* to their aſſiſtance: but he ſtill remained troubleſome to them; and giving to *Anthony* the Government of *Guyenne*, which had been likewiſe held by *Henry d'Albret* his Father-in-law, he retrenched him of *Languedoc*, which he had a long time enjoyed. Part I. and retire from the Court.

About two years after, they returned to the Court of *France*, whither they brought their Son, aged about four or five years; who was the moſt jolly and beſt-compoſed Lad in the world: but they ſtayed but few moneths, and returned again to *Bearn*. 1557. 1558.

A little after, King *Henry* the ſecond was ſlain with a blow of a Lance by *Montgomery*. *Francis* the ſecond, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him; and *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, Uncles to *Mary Stuart* his Queen, ſeized themſelves of the Government. The Princes of the Blood could not ſuffer it; and therefore *Lewis*, Prince of *Condé*, younger Brother to *Anthony*, called that King into the Court to oppoſe it. 1559. Death of King *Henry* the ſecond. *Francis* 2. ſucceeds.

Part I. Divisions at Court. 1560.

During these Divisions, the *Hugonots* contrived the Conspiration *d' Amboyse* against the present Government: and the two Brothers, *Anthony* and *Lewis*, being accused for the Chiefs of it, were arrested Prisoners in the State of *Orleance*; and processes made so hotly against the second, that it was believed he would have been beheaded, if the Death of King *Francis* the second had not happened.

Death of *Francis* 2.

Charles 9. succeeds. Queen *Katherine* declared Regent, and the King of *Navarre* Lieutenant-General of the Realm.

Charles the ninth who succeeded him, being under age, Queen *Katherine* his Mother caused her self to be declared Regent of the Estates; and the King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the Blood, was declared Lieutenant-General of the Realm, to govern the Estate with her: so that by this means he was stay'd in *France*, whither he caused his Queen *Jane*, and his young Son Prince *Henry*, to come. But he enjoyed not long this new Dignity; for the Troubles dayly continuing, by reason of the Surprizes which the new Reformers made of the best Cities of the Kingdome, after having re-taken *Bourges* from them, he came to besiege *Rouen*; where visiting one day the Trenches, as he was making water, he received a Musket-shot in his left shoulder; of which he in few days died at *Andely* on the *Seine*. Had he lived longer, the *Hugonots* had without doubt been but ill treated in *France*; for he mortally hated them, though his Brother, the Prince of *Condé*, were the principal Chief of their party.

1562.

He is killed before *Rouen*.

1562.

The

The Queen his wife, and the little Prince his ſon, were at preſent in the Court of *France*. The mother returned to *Bearn*, where ſhe publickly embraced Calviniſm: but ſhe left her ſon with the King, under the conduct of a wiſe Tutor, named *la Gaucherie*, who endeavoured to give him ſome tincture of Learning, not by the Rules of Grammar, but by Diſcourſes and Entertainments. To this effect he taught him by heart many fair Sentences like to theſe: Part I. The Queen his wife returns to *Bearn*, and embraces Calviniſm

Ou vaincre avec Juſtice,
Ou Mourir avec Gloire.

Or juſtly gain the Victory,
Or learn with Glory how to die.

And that other;

Les Princes ſur leur Peuple ont autorité grande,
Mais Dieu plus fortement deſſus les Rois commande.

Kings rule their Subjects with a mighty hand;
But God with greater power doth Kings command.

In the year 1566. his mother took him from the Court of *France*, and led him to *Pau*; and in the place of *la Gaucherie*, who 1566. She takes her ſon

Part I. from the Court, and gives him a Master instructs him in ill Doctrine.

was deceased, she gave him *Florentius Christian*, an ancient servant of the house of *Vendosme*; a man of a very agreeable conversation, and well versed in Learning; but however a *Hugonot*, and who, according to the orders of the Queen, instructed the Prince in that false Doctrine.

1567. *Henry* Prince of *Navarre*, declared chief of the Religion.

In the first troubles of the Religion, *Francis* Duke of *Guise* had been assassinated by *Poltrot* at the Siege of *Orleance*, leaving his children in minority: this was in the year 1563. In the second, the Constable of *Montmorency* received a wound at the battle of St. *Dennis*; of which he died at *Paris*, three days after the Eve of St. *Martin*, in the year 1567. In the third, and in the year 1569, Queen *Jane* rendred her self Protectoress of the *Hugonot* party; being for this effect come to *Rochel* with her son, whom she now devoted to the Defence of that new Religion.

1569. *Louys* Prince of *Condé* his Uncle, his Lieutenant with Admiral *Coligny*. A judicious action, when yet an infant.

In this quality he was declared Chief, and his Uncle the Prince of *Condé* his Lieutenant in colleague with the Admiral of *Coligny*. These were two great Chieftains, but they committed notable errours; and this young Prince, though not exceeding thirteen years of age, had the spirit to observe them. For he judged well at the great skirmish of *Loudun*, that if the Duke of *Anjou*(b) had had troops ready to assault them, he had done it; and that not doing it, he was without doubt in an ill estate, and therefore should the rather have been assaulted by them; but they, by not doing

b *This Duke of Anjou, was King after Hen. 3*

doing it, gave time to all his troops to arrive. Part I.

At the battle of *Jarnac*, he represented to them yet more judiciously, that there was no means to fight, because the forces of the Princes were dispersed, and those of the Duke of *Anjou* firmly imbodied: but they were engaged too far to be able to retreat. The Prince of *Condé* was killed in this battle, or rather assassinated in cold blood after the Combat, in which he had had his Leg broken.

Another action very judicious at the battle of *Jarnac*.

Lewis Prince of *Condé* slain

After that, all the authority and belief of the Party remained in the Admiral *Coligny*; who, to speak truth, was the greatest man of that time of the Religion he took part with, but the most unfortunate.

After his death, the Admiral commands all.

This Admiral having gathered together new forces, hazarded a second battle at *Montcontour* in *Poitou*: he had caused to come to the Army our little Prince of *Navarre*, and the young Prince of *Condé*, who was likewise named *Henry*; and gave them in charge to Prince *Lodowick* of *Nassaw*, who guarded them on a Hill little distant with four thousand horse.

He hazards the battle of *Montcontour*.

The young Prince burned with desire to engage in person, but they permitted him not to run so great a hazard: nevertheless when the Avant-Guard of the Duke of *Alenzon* was disordered by that of the Admiral, there had been no danger to let him fall upon the Enemies, who were much astonished. However they hindred him, and he now cryed out,

Our Prince impatient to engage, but hindred.

Part I. Gives marks of his judgement. 1570.

We shall loose our advantage, and by consequence the battle. It arrived as he had foreseen; and it was at that hour judged by some, that a young man of sixteen years of age, had more understanding then the old Souldiers. "Thus "he applyed himself entirely to what he did; "nor had he onely a Body, but a Spirit and "Judgement apt.

Being saved with the remnants of his Army, he made almost a turn round the Kingdome, fighting in retreat, and rallying together the *Hugonots* troops here and there for five or six moneths; during which, he suffered so much travel, that had he not been elevated in that manner he was, he could not have been able to resist it.

He with the Admiral continues the War.

This young Prince always accompanied with the Admiral, led his troops into *Guyenne*, and from thence through *Languedoc*, where he took *Nismes* by stratagem, forced several small places, and burned the suburbs of *Toulouse* in such manner, that the sparkles of that fire flew into that great City. The War being thus kindled in the heart of *France*, he shewed himself on the other bank of the *Rhone* with his troops, gained by storms the City of St. *Julien* and St. *Just*, and obliged St. *Estienne en Forez* to capitulate. From thence he descended to the banks of the *Saone*, and afterwards into the middle of *Burgongne*. *Paris* trembled the second time at the approach of an Army so much the more formidable, because it seemed to be re-inforced by the loss of

two

two battles, and to have now gained some advantage over that of the Catholicks which the Marshal *de Cosse* commanded. Part I.

The Counsel of the King fearing to hazard all by a fourth Encounter, judged it more to the purpose to plaister up a peace with that party: it was therefore treated of, the two Armies being near each other, and concluded in the little City of *Arnay-le-Duc*, on the eleventh of *August*. The peace of *Arnay-le-Duc.*

This Peace made every one retire home; the Prince of *Navarre* went to *Bearn*. King *Charles* the ninth married with *Elizabeth*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the second; and nothing else seemed thought of, but Feasts and Rejoycings. In the mean time, the King having found that he could never compass his Desires on the *Hugonots* by force, resolved to make use of means more easie, but much more wicked: he began to caress them, to feign that he would treat them favourably, to accord them the greatest part of those things they desired, and to lull them asleep with hopes of his making War against the King of *Spain* in the Low-Countries; a thing they passionately desired: and the better to allure them, he promised as a gage of his faith, to marry his Sister *Margaret* to our *Henry*; and by these means drew the principal Chiefs of their party to *Paris*. 1571. A Resolution to entrap the *Hugonots*, and exterminate them.

His mother *Jane*, who was come before to make preparations for the marriage, died a few days after her arrival: a Princess of a Spi- Death of *Jane d' Albret.*

Part I.

rit and Courage above her Sex, and whoſe Soul wholly virile, was not ſubject to the weakneſſes and defaults of other women; but in truth, a paſſionate Enemy of the Catholick Religion. Some Hiſtorians ſay that ſhe was poiſoned with a pair of perfumed Gloves, becauſe they feared that ſhe having a great ſpirit, would diſcover the deſigne they had to maſſacre all the *Hugonots*: but if I be not deceived, this is a falſity; it being more likely which others ſay, that ſhe died of a Tiſick; ſince thoſe that were about her, and ſerved her, have ſo teſtified.

Her ſon takes the quality of King of *Navarre*.

Henry her Son, who came after her, being in *Poitou*, received news of her death, and preſently took the Quality of King: for hitherto he had onely born that of Prince of *Navarre*.

He marries the King of *France* his ſiſter.

So ſoon as he came to *Paris*, the unhappy Nuptials were celebrated; the two parties being eſpouſed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, on a ſcaffold erected for that purpoſe before the Church of *Noſtre-Dame*.

Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*.

Six days after, which was the day of St. *Bartholomew*, all the *Hugonots* which were come to the ſolemnity, had their throats cut; amongſt others, the Admiral, and twenty other Lords of remark; twelve hundred Gentlemen; three or four thouſand Souldiers and Burgeſſes; and through all the Cities of the Kingdome, after the example of *Paris*, near an hundred thouſand men. "Execrable "action! which never had, nor ever ſhall a- "gain, if it pleaſe God, finde its parallel.

What

What grief must it needs be to our young King, to see in stead of Wine and Perfumes, so much Blood shed at his Nuptials, his best friends murthered; and hear their pitiful cries, which pierced his ears into the *Louvre* where he was lodged? And moreover, what trances and fears must needs surprize his very Person? for in effect it was consulted whether they should murther him and the Prince of *Condé* with the rest; and all the murderers concluded on their death: nevertheless, by a miracle, they after resolved to spare them. Part I. The grief and fear of our young King.

Charles the ninth caused them to be brought to his presence; and having shewed them a mountain of dead bodies, with horrible threats, not hearkning to their reasons, told them, *Either Death or the Mass.* They elected rather the last then the first, and abjured Calvinism: but because it was known they did it not heartily, they were so straitly observed, that they could not escape the Court during those two years that *Charles* the ninth lived, nor a long time after his death. He is constrained to turn Catholick.

During this time, our *Henry* exquisitely dissembled his discontents, though they were very great; and notwithstanding those vexations which might trouble his spirit, he cloathed his visage with a perpetual serenity, and humour wholly jolly. This was without doubt the most difficult passage of his Life: he had to do with a furious King, and with his two Brothers, to wit, the Duke of *Anjou*, a dissembling Prince, and who had been educated 1572. His great dangers & troubles at Court.

Part I. cated in massacres; and with the Duke of *Alenzon*, who was deceitful and malitious; with Queen *Katherine*, who mortally hated him, because her Divines had foretold his reign; and in fine, with the house of *Guise*, whose puissance and credit was at present almost boundless.

His wise & prudent conduct.

He was doubtless necessitated to act with a marvellous prudence in the conduct of himself with all these people, that he might not create in them the least jealousie, but rather beget a great esteem of himself; make submission and gravity accord, and conserve his Dignity and Life: in the mean time he dis-engaged himself from all these difficulties, and from all these dangers, with an unparallell'd address.

He contracts friendship with the Duke of *Guise*.

He contracted a great familiarity with the Duke of *Guise*, who was about his own age; and they often made secret parties of pleasure together: but he agreed not so well with the Duke of *Alenzon*, who had a capritious spirit; nor was he over-much troubled at his ill accord with him, because neither the King nor Queen-mother had any affection for this Duke.

He shuns contention with Duke d' *Alenzon*;

However, he gave no credit to the ill counsel of that Queens Emissaries, who endeavoured to engage his contending in Duel against him; so much the rather, because that he considering him as the brother of his King, to whom he ought respect, he knew well it would have proved his loss, and that she would not have been wanting to take so fair a pretext to ruine him.

He

He shunned likewise other snares laid for him, but yet not all: for he suffered himself to be overtaken with the allurements of some Ladies of the Court; whom it is said that Queen served her self expressly of, to amuse the Princes and Nobles, and to discover all their thoughts. Part I. but lets himself be overcome by the beauty of Ladies:

From that time, ("for Vices contracted in "the blossome of youth, generally accompa- "ny men to their tomb") a passion for women was the greatest feebleness and weakness of our *Henry*; and possibly the cause of his last misfortune: for God punisheth sooner or later those who wickedly abandon themselves to this criminal passion. which was his greatest weakness.

1572. Besides this, he contracted no other crimes in this Court; and it ought to be attributed to a particular grace of Heaven, that he was not infected with all; for there was never any more vicious nor more corrupted. Impiety, Atheism, Witchcraft, all most horrible wickedness, black ingratitude and perfidiousness, poisoning and assassination, reigning there in a soveraign degree: yet all these abominations, instead of infecting him, fortified him in the natural horror he had against them; and, though amongst wicked persons, he had never any thoughts to become their Companion, but many to be their Enemy. He fell not into any other of the horrible Vices of the Court.

1573. On St. *Bartholomews*-day succeeding, they would finish to exterminate the *Hugonots*; and to this purpose the Duke of *Anjou* went to besiege *Rochel*, carrying him with him; but caused The Duke of *Anjou* besieges *Rochel*, and

Part I. carries the King with him.

The siege raised, by the election of Duke d' *Anjou* to the Kingdome of *Poland*.

1574. *Charles* 9. falls mortally sick at *Bois de Vincennes*.

A league made at Court, into which *Henry* enters,

The Queen-mother discovering it, causes him & the Duke *Alenson*, &c to be arrested;

canſed him to be ſo well obſerved, that he could neither evade to the right hand nor the left. It may be judged what heart-grief it was to him to be made an inſtrument in the deſtruction of thoſe which yet remained his friends and ſervants, and had refuged themſelves in this City. After a long ſiege, it was relieved by the arrival of the Ambaſſadors of *Poland*, who came to ſeek the Duke of *Anjou*, whom the Eſtates of that Country had elected their King.

Some moneths afterwards, *Charles* the ninth fell mortally ſick, vomiting forth blood through all the conduits of his body; ſo that by many it was believed he was empoiſoned: but however it were, it may juſtly be ſaid, (if it be permitted to judge of Kings, *who ought to be judged by none but God*) That it was a Divine puniſhment for his blaſphemies.

His extream malady gave birth to a league made by the Duke of *Alenſon*, the Marſhals of *Montmorency* and *Coſſé*, and ſome Catholicks, with the *Hugonot* party, to deprive the Queen-mother of the Government, and drive the *Guiſes* from the Court, where they were very puiſſant. Our *Henry* entred into it, not out of any deſigne to oblige himſelf with thoſe people, but onely that he might have the means to retire with ſecurity into his own Country.

The Queen-mother having underſtood theſe practices, cauſed him and the Duke of *Alenſon* to be arreſted and committed to Guard. The Prince of *Condé* ſaved himſelf happily in *Germany*.

many. She caused likewise the two Marshals of *Montmorency* and *Cossé* to be secured; and to let the world see she treated not Princes of their degree in this manner without sufficient cause, she made them be strictly examined, on many treasonable Interrogatories, but which were all false: there were onely put to death *la Mole*, *Coconas*, and *Tourtray*; three Gentlemen of note, who had engaged themselves in their intrigues: and possibly this execution was necessary to calm the spirit of the Nobility and People, who began to murmur, that a son of *France*, and the first Prince of the blood, should be treated in this manner. Part I.

and *la Mole*, *Coconas*, & *Tourtray*, to be put to death.

In this affair, the Chancellour would have examined the King of *Navarre:* but though captive and threatned, he would not so much wrong his Dignity as to reply to him. However, to content the Queen-mother, he made a long discourse, addressing his speech to her; by which he declared many things touching the present estate of affairs, but charged no person, as the Duke of *Alençon* had weakly and unworthily done.

The Chancellour would examine the King of *Navarre.*

King *Charles* the ninth being near his death, and hating possibly not without reason both his two brothers, and his mother, sent to seek our *Henry*, in whom alone he acknowledged to have found faith and honour; and most affectionately recommended to him his wife and his daughter.

Charles 9. near his death, sends for him.

Katherine

Part I. 1574.

Katherine de Medicis, knowing that he had sent for him, was fearful left he should leave to him the Regency; and to this purpose would cast some fear into his soul, to the end he should not dare to accept it. As he went to attend the King, who was at *Bois de Vincennes*, she gave order he should be made pass under the Arches, between the Guards, who lay in ambush and posture to massacre him. He startled at first with fear, and recoiled two or three paces backwards: however, *Nanzay le Chastre*, Captain of the Life-guards, reassured him, swearing to him he should receive no prejudice; he was therefore constrained, though he trusted but little to his words, to pass through the Carabines and Halberds.

Queen *Katherine* alarm'd, would affright him.

After the death of *Charles* the ninth, *Katherine de Medicis*, partly by force, and partly by cunning, seized on the Regency, expecting the return of her dear Son the Duke of *Anjou*, who was named *Henry* the third.

After the death of *Charles* 9. she seizeth on the Regency.

When he was returned from *Poland*, she brought the two Princes before him, to do with them what he pleased; whom after some chidings and threatnings, he set at liberty.

The two Princes set at liberty.

These two Princes making reflection on the continual dangers they had for two years past been in, resolved with the first occasion to deliver themselves from these fears. The Prince of *Condé*, who was in *Germany*, had raised Levies for the *Hugonot* party; who, about the end

The Prince of *Condé* was in *Germany*.

end of the reign of *Charles* the ninth, had re- Part I.
taken Arms: and *Damville*, second son to *du Fau* Constable, and brother of the Marshal of *Montmorency*, who was a prisoner in the *Bastile*, had joyned himself to their party; not taking Religion for his pretext, (because he was a Catholick) but the publick Liberty, and Reformation of the State. This sort of Catholicks who joyned themselves in league with the *Hugonots*, were named *The Politicians*.

Our *Henry* could not escape from the Court so soon as he desired: he was diligently watched, and his very Domesticks were as so many spies over him. He well understood, that if he were surprized whilst he endeavoured to save himself, he should certainly be murthered; and now whilst he sought occasions to do it with security, he engaged himself in new snares; becoming passionate of *la Dame de Sauves*, wife to a Secretary of State, and at present the fairest in the whole Court.

The King of *Navarre* cannot escape as he desires.

He falls in love with a Lady.

In the mean time the Queen-mother, who with so much diligence kept him at Court, could have been well contented he had been gone. For the King her dear Son, began to take some knowledge of his own affairs; a thing much displeasing to her, because she would have governed all: she therefore apprehending, that as he took the Authority into his own hands, hers would be diminished; believed that she ought to embroile all by factions and civil wars; of which she alone, as it may be said, had the Key, so that nothing could

The Queen-mother alluminates all the factions and civil wars.

Part I. could pass without her. See here the reason wherefore so long as she lived she did underhand nothing but suscitate troubles, and animate different parties both at Court and abroad; that in the end, after having caused the desolation of the Estate, and the subversion of all Laws and all Orders, she might her self perish in those flames which she had kindled, and supplyed with so much fuel.

1575. Conspiracy against *Henry* 3. who confides in our *Henry*.

Amongst these transactions, as the King went to *Rheims* to be enstalled, a conspiracy was discovered against his Person; fostred by the Duke of *Alenson*, at the instigation of the friends of the defunct Admiral, and of *de la Mole*, who had been his favourite: many believed this to be a thing devised by the Queen-mother, of purpose to astonish and weaken the spirit of her Son: and the reason they had to believe it, was, because she obliged the King to pardon this crime so lightly, none either of the Complices or Instigators being punished for it. However it were, *Henry* the third testified in this occasion a particular confidence in our King of *Navarre*; who, assisted by his friends, served him as Captain of his Guards through the whole way, never stirring from the boot of his Coach: and in this appeared so much the more generous, having no reason to love him, beside the obligation of his duty, being his kinsman and his vassal.

Henry 3. anointed and espou-

Henry the third being arrived at *Rheims*, was on the fifteenth of the month of *February*, installed by the Cardinal of *Guise*; and on the

the morrow espoused to *Louise de Lorrain*, daughter of the Count of *Vaudemont*: which added yet a great lustre to the house of *Guise*, of which Duke *Henry* was chief, who was at present in favour, though after killed at *Blois*. This Prince, one of the bravest in all manners that Age produced, had ever promised himself to govern the King by Queen *Louise* his kinswoman. He had contracted a very strait familiarity with the King of *Navarre*, whom he called his Master, as that King called him his Gossip. Part I. sed to *Louis de Lorrain*. Familiarity between our *Henry* and the Duke of *Guise*.

Queen *Margaret*, who, to speak the truth, could not live without Intrigues nor Galanteries, contributed with all her power to the entertainment of this good intelligence, and essayed to make the *Monsieur* (who is he we call Duke *d' Alenson*) enter into it, whom she most passionately loved.

But the union of Princes being the ruine of Favorites, and those that governed, the Queen-mother straight broke this designe; begetting in the King a jealousie of his wife; incensing *Monsieur* against the Duke of *Guise*, by the remembrance of the massacre of the Admiral; continually confounding the King of *Navarre* by the intrigue of some Ladies, but particularly of *de Sauves*, who enjoying such person as *Katherine* commanded her, received the love and services of *Monsieur* to create a difference between them. The Queen-mother breaks this union.

The Queen-mother entertained likewise an irreconcileable hatred between the King and

Part I. *Monsieur*: by which means there arrived an affair which as much proclaimed the greatness of Courage and Generosity of our *Henry*, as any action he had done in his life.

Henry 3. falls very sick.

The King being fallen sick, and in great danger of death with a pain in his ear, believed himself to be poisoned, as (a) *Francis* the second had been, and accused *Monsieur*. In this belief he sent to seek the King of *Navarre*, and commands him to dispatch *Monsieur* so soon as he was dead; enforcing himself by all reasons possible, to perswade him that that wicked one would make him perish, and all his, if he prevented it not. The favorites of the King having the same opinion with their Master, seeing *Monsieur* pass, sacrificed him already to their revenge, by murthering regards.

(a) Francis 2 *died of an Apostume in his ear, which was believed to come of poyson.*

A noble and generous action of our *Henry*.

Our *Henry* endeavoured to sweeten the fury of the King, and remonstrated to him the horrible consequences of this command: but the King, not content with reasons, contrary to them, emported himself in such manner, that he would he should presently execute it, for fear lest he should fail of it when he were dead.

1575. If the two brothers, to wit, the King and *Monsieur*, had been out of the world, the Crown appertained to him. Now one in all appearances was about to die; and he might easily finde a death for the other, having the Favorites, the Officers of the King, the *Guise*, all their friends, and almost all the Nobility at his devotion: for *Monsieur* was a Prince of an

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ill preſence, and of low inclinations, yet ma- Part I.
lign and cruel; and for all theſe fair qualities, hated by almoſt all the world, and ſuſtained onely by the brave *Buſſy d' Amboiſe*. How few Princes are there that would have let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion! I dare boldly ſpeak it, how few are there would not ſeek it? and yet our *Hero* (for in ſuch an action I muſt of force call him ſo) was ſo far from prevailing himſelf of it, that he conceived a horrour at the furious vengeance of *Henry* the third. "*There is no* "*nobler ambition, then to know how to moderate* "*ambition when it is not juſt; and to endeavour* "*to conſerve our conſcience and honour, rather* "*then acquiſt a crown by wicked ways. Dia-* "*dems gained by ill means, are not marks of glo-* "*ry to thoſe fronts that carry them, but rather* "*frontlets of infamy, ſuch as are placed on* "*Thieves and Villains.*

Heaven, without doubt, approved the generous ſentiments of our *Henry*, and deſtined to him the Scepter of the *Flower de Luce*, becauſe guiltleſs of an impatience to reach it before his degree. On the contrary, theſe brothers of the houſe of *Valois*, who endeavoured to raviſh it one from the other, died all unhappily, and had him for their ſucceſſour, who by a crime refuſed to be ſo.

Henry the third being recovered, knew well that he had wrongfully accuſed his brother to have impoiſoned him; yet he loved him never a whit the more: he dayly ſuffered his favorites to give him a thouſand affronts, and

Part I. to domineer over him in the publick Assemblies. He would likewise cause *Bussy d' Amboise*, who was his favorite and onely support, to be murthered by night at the gates of the *Louvre*; and it was believed he had given order, if the Duke of *Alenzon* had gone to his assistance, (for there were people appointed to come and tell him that *Bussy* was assassinated) to slay him likewise. In such manner, that getting the bridle out of his teeth, he escaped from Court, put himself in the field, gathered together some male-contents, composed an Army, and joyned with that of the *Hugonots*, commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, and by *Casimir*, youngest son of the Count *Palatine*; who, in these civil wars of the Religion, twice or thrice led great levies of *German Horse* into *France*.

1576. *Monsieur* departs from Court and joyns with the *Hugonots*.

Our *Henry* was puissantly sollicited to follow him; and *Monsieur* said he had promised him to do it: but they had taken from about him all those who might favour his escape, and placed in their stead people of their own hire. He was moreover promised the Lieutenant-Generalship of the Kings Army; which was a strong lure to retain him; nor was the love of the fair *de Sauves* less powerful. However, the natural spurs of his courage, and the fear he had left *Monsieur* and the Prince of *Condé* should seize on the chief Command amongst the *Hugonot* party, which had been his Cradle, and was to be his Castle; the remonstrances of some of his servants, and the inventions

Our *Henry* could not soon follow him, but at length saves himself at *Alenzon*.

ventions of Queen *Katherine*, who expresly incensed the King against him, in the end obliged him to escape, and made him take his resolution. Part I.

He saved himself therefore by feigning to go on the Chace towards *Senlis*, and retired to *Alenzon*; where however he acted nothing, the peace being soon after concluded with them all. There was granted to *Monsieur* a great Portion in money and places; to the *Hugonots* many very advantagious conditions; to the Prince of *Condé* the Government of *Picardy*, and the City of *Peronne*, for his retreat: but to our *Henry* nothing else but hopes; of which being in the end dis-abused, he renounced the peace, re-entred into the *Hugonot* party; and quitting the Catholick Church, returned anew to his first Religion. It is to be believed, that he did it because he was perswaded it was the better: thus his fault will be worthy of excuse, nor can he be accused but for not having the true light. In the mean time it must not be forgot to observe on this, that the greatest reproach his enemies ever made him, I mean those of the League, was his having thus relapsed; and this was likewise the greatest obstacle he found at *Rome*, when being converted, he demanded the absolution of the Pope.

Peace made with *Monsieur* and the *Hugonots*.

1576. Our *Henry* again turns *Hugonot*.

The *Rochellers* received him into their City, but not without great Pre-cautions, and not until he had driven from him some people, who were neither *Catholicks* nor *Hugonots*,

He is received into *Rochel*, and after goes into *Guyenne*.

Part I. but Atheists, and horrible wicked persons. It hath been held, that they followed him against his will; that truely he had served himself of them in some intrigues, but that it was himself who by secret advice obliged the *Rochellers* to demand their expulsion.

The gates of *Bourdeaux* shut against him.

After he had sojourned some months at *Rochel*, he went to take possession of his Government of *Guyenne*, where he had the displeasure to see shut against him the gates of the City of *Bourdeaux*, under pretext that the inhabitants feared that if he became Master of it, he would banish the Catholick Religion. A very sensible injury to a young Prince full of courage; but he knew most wisely how to dissemble it at present, because he had not power to revenge it; and generously forgot it, when he had the means to do it.

The birth of the League.

About this time the League took birth, that puissant faction, which for twenty years together tormented *France*; which thought to introduce the *Spanish* Domination, and which would have renversed the order of the succession of the Royal family, under the faireſt pretext in the world, to wit, the maintenance of the Religion of our Ancestors.

At other times, under the reign of *Charles* the ninth, there were divers Leagues and Associations made in *Guyenne* and *Languedoc* to defend the Church against the *Hugonots*, (I leave it to judge whether those who rendred themselves Chief of them, had most Zeal, or most Ambition) but they were not pressed so for-

forward, nor so diligently formed, and therefore became extinct. The Grandees of the Realm however might by them observe, that if at any time such associations were made, it would be a fair means to elevate to a great height him who could render himself their Chief. Part I. These Leagues a fair path for the ambitious to rise by.

Henry Duke of *Guise*, who had a King-like heart, had in all likelyhood this thought; or if he at first had it not, the favorites of *Henry* the third, by persecuting him, forced him to entertain it, and to apply himself to this party, to defend himself against them. There were of his house seven or eight Princes, all brave to the utmost extent. The principal of them were the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Cardinal *de Guise* his brothers, the Duke *d' Aumarle*, and the Marquis *d' Elbeuf* his Cousins. The Duke of *Guise* makes himself chief of the League.

Now the Evasion of *Monsieur*, of which we have spoken, to the *Hugonots*, and the advantagious peace after granted them, made the League show it self, which was but little in its commencement. Those who to render themselves puissant desired a new faction in the State, took this subject, to make it be represented by their Emissaries the great danger in which the *Catholick* Religion was, and to remonstrate the excessive puissance of its enemies, who had on their side the two first Princes of the blood, and *Monsieur* who was their friend. What would it be, said they, if he should come to the Crown with such ill intentions? that therefore they ought to advise The War of *Monsieur*, & his joyning with the *Hugonots*, the cause of the League.

Part I. in good time, and fortifie themſelves againſt that danger which threatned the holy Church. They whiſpered at preſent theſe Conſiderations, and other like them, into men ears; and when they had diſpoſed their ſpirits, publiſhed them aloud.

The Cities of *Picardy* begin it, and why.

Upon this, the Burgeſſes of *Peronne*, a free City, and which was accuſtomed to have ſo puiſſant a Governour, refuſed to receive the Prince of *Condé*, becauſe a *Hugonot*. He made his complaints to the King, and demanded the execution of the treaty of peace. The *Picards* oppoſed him, and were the firſt that made a League or Union for the defence, as they ſaid, of the *Catholick*, *Apoſtolick*, and *Roman* Faith. The Prince of *Condé* could never have reaſon, and was conſtrained to retire into *Guyenne*.

James Lord *d' Humieres*, was made Chief of this League in *Picardy*; and *Aplincourt* a young Gentleman took the Oath of the Inhabitants of *Peronne*; by whoſe example the Cities of *Amiens*, *Corbie*, St. *Quintins*, and many others, did the like. *Lewis de Tremoville* began one likewiſe in *Poictou*. The Queen-mother ſecretly favoured this deſigne, to the end ſhe might retain her authority among theſe diſcords and diſturbances. The firſt Model, and the Articles of this League, were brought to *Paris*; and there were ſome ſo zealous as to carry them from houſe to houſe, endeavouring to engage the moſt backward: but *Chriſtopher de Thou*, chief preſi-

Chriſtopher de Thou hinders its procedure at *Paris*.

dent

dent, hindred for the preſent the progreſs of this conſpiracy. Part I.

Thoſe who were the firſt inventors of it, had deliberated among themſelves, that to the end to give it means to aggrandize it ſelf, and to keep the ſpirits of the people ſtill warm, it was neceſſary to continue the war with the *Hugonots*: for this purpoſe, they ſtirred up divers perſons who ſurprized their places, and committed a thouſand affronts againſt our *Henry* and the Prince of *Condé*. And much more, they raiſed ſo many factions and complaints on all ſides, of people who demanded the ſummoning of the Eſtates, that the King was obliged to agree to it. They aſſembled then at *Blois*, and began in the month of *December*, in the year 1575. The *Hugonots* themſelves were not at all troubled at this Convocation, becauſe they imagined that the third Eſtate, which ordinarily is the ſtrongeſt, and which hath moſt reaſon to apprehend the war, would cauſe the peace to be confirmed: but the *Junéto* of thoſe which were for war, was ſo ſtrong, that it was reſolved puiſſantly to proſecute it.

The Leaguers oblige the King to call the Eſtates.

They aſſemble at *Blois*.

War reſolved againſt the *Hugonots*.

They judged it notwithſtanding convenient to depute before-hand ſome perſons of the Aſſembly to our *Henry* and to the Prince of *Condé*, to exhort them to return into the boſome of the Catholick Church. And this taking no effect, the King was obliged to declare himſelf Chief of the League; and ſo from Soveraign, become Chief of a faction, and enemy to a part of his ſubjects. He

Henry 3. declares himſelf chief of the League.

Part I. 1577. He raiſed three or four Armies, who made war againſt the *Hugonots* in the *Daulphinate*, in *Guyenne*, in *Languedoc*, and in *Poictou*; and reduced, and might have quite cruſht them, if their ruine had been reſolutely proſecuted, in that aſtoniſhment wherein he had put them. But the Queen-mother, who onely deſired the war, that ſhe might have affairs in agitation, and not that they might have their iſſue, perſwaded the King her ſon, for certain ſtudied reaſons, to grant them peace.

He raiſes three or four Armies againſt the *Hugonots*.

The Queen-mother obliges him to grant them peace

1578. The Treaty being concluded, the Queen-mother made a voyage into *Guyenne*: ſhe feigned that it was to cauſe it to be punctually executed, and to carry her Daughter *Margaret* to the King of *Navarre* her husband; but it was in effect to ſow ſeeds of Diſcord among the *Hugonots*, to the end ſhe might be Miſtreſs of that party as ſhe had been in that of the *Catholicks*. *Henry* now kept his little Court at *Nerac*: he had before kept it at *Agen*, where he was beloved of the people by reaſon of his juſtice and goodneſs: But it happened, that at a Ball or Dance ſome young people of his own train blew out the Candles, to commit inſolencies; which ſo ſcandalized the inhabitants, that they delivered their City to the Marſhal of *Byron*, whom the King had ſent Governour into the Province of *Guyenne*.

She makes a voyage to *Guyenne*, and carries with her her daughter *Margaret*.

The King of *Navarre* looſes *Agen* and *la Reole* by two follies of youth.

A little time after, *Henry* likewiſe loſt *la Reole* by another folly of his young people. He had given the Government of it to an old *Hugonot* Captain named *d'Uſſac*, who had his viſage

sage horribly deformed: his deformity however hindred him not from becoming passionate of one of the Ladies attending the Queen-mother; for she had brought many of the most bewitching with her, to kindle a fire every where. The Viscount of *Turenne*, afterwards Duke of *Bouillon*, aged at present about twenty one or twenty two years, with some others of his age, would make Raillery of this business; our *Henry*, instead of commanding them silence, made himself of their party; and having a fluent spirit, assisted them in lancing out some mocks & jeers against this doting Lover. There is no passion renders a heart so sensible as this. *Usac* could not suffer this Raillery, though proceeding from his Master; but in prejudice of his Honour and Religion, he yeilded and delivered up *la Reole* to *Duras*; a Lord who having been in favour with our *Henry*, had quitted him, out of envy, because he testified less affection to him then to *Roquelaire*, who was without doubt one of the most honest and most pleasant men of his time. Part I.

These two losses of *Agen* and *la Reole*, gave him, and ought to give all Princes, two very necessary instructions.

"The first, that a Prince ought well to govern his Courtiers; the rather, because all "their disorders are imputed to him: and "that it is presumed when they do them, that "it is himself commits them, because obliged to hinder them. Two exquisite Reflections.

"The

Part I.

"The second, that above all things he abstain from Raillery: for there is no Vice "which makes so many enemies, nor which is "more dangerous, because others may be "concealed. Such a word as issuing from the "mouth of a particular person, would be ac- "counted but a light jest, is like a stab of a "ponyard from that of a Prince; and leaves "in the heart mortal resentments. Nor must "great ones be flattered with this opini- "on, that their subjects or their inferiours "ought to suffer all things from them: for "where honour is concerned, the more the "person that wounds is superiour, the greater "is the wound; as the impression of a body is "deeper, the more feet it hath, and the higher "it falls.

Queen *Margaret* did not over-well love her husband, nor he her:

The Queen-mother had taken with her, as we have said, Queen *Margaret* to her husband. Neither the one nor the other of the two Spouses were over-well content. *Margaret*, who loved the splendour of the *French* Court, where she swam, if we may so speak, in full intrigues, believed to be in *Guyenne* was a kind of banishment: and *Henry*, knowing her humour and carriage, would rather have chose her room then her company. However, seeing it a remedilesse ill; he resolved to suffer it; leaving her an intire liberty: he considered her rather as a Sister of his King, then as his Wife. He likewise pretended some nullities in the Marriage, but attended time and place to

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make them known. In the mean time, accommodating himself to the season, and to the necessity of his affairs, he endeavoured to draw advantages from her intrigues, and from her credit. He received no small one in the conference which he and the Deputies of the *Hugonots* had at *Nerac* with the Queen-mother: for whilst she thought to inchant them by the charms of those fair Ladies she had expressly brought with her, and by the eloquence of *Pibrac*; *Margaret* opposed the same Artifices, gained the Gentlemen who were near her Mother, by the attractions of her Ladies; and employed so well her own, that she enchanted the spirit and will of the poor *Pibrac* in such manner, that he acted not but by her motion, and quite contrary to the intentions of the Queen-mother, who, not distrusting that a man so wise could be capable of so great folly, was deceived in many Articles, and insensibly carried to grant much more to the *Hugonots* then she had resolved.

Part I. but he draws advantages from her intrigues.

Scarce were eight months spent since the peace, but the Queen-mother, *Monsieur* and the *Guises*, began to be weary of it. The Queen-mother, because she would not have the King rest any long time without having need of her Negotiations and intermission: *Monsieur*, because by re-kindling the War, he thought to render himself redoubtable to the King, and to make him give him forces to carry into the Low-Countries; which being revolted from *Spain*, demanded him for their Soveraign:

The Queen-mother, *Monsieur* & the *Guises*, weary of the peace.

And

Part I. And in fine, the *Guiſes*, becauſe they feared leſt the ardour of the League ſhould by too long a calm, grow cold.

1579. In theſe wiſhes, they preſſed the King to redemand the places of ſecurity granted to the *Hugonots*; and under-hand *Monſieur* and the Queen-mother cauſed it to be told to our *Henry*, that he ſhould not ſurrender them, but hold it out that his cauſe was juſt, and that his ſafety conſiſted in his Arms. *Margaret*, who knew his weakneſs, and who likewiſe wiſht the War, excited him by the perſwaſion of Ladies whom ſhe foſtered to this deſigne; and by the ſame means animated alike all thoſe braves who approached her; nor ſpared ſhe her ſelf with the Viſcount of *Turenne* for this purpoſe: ſo that this Prince, poſſibly with very little juſtice, and certainly to very ill purpoſe, was carried to a rupture, and engaged the *Hugonots* in a new Civil War, which was named for the reaſons I but now ſpake of, *The War of the Lovers*.

They under-hand perſwade the King of *Navarre* to a Rupture;

which proves very diſadvantagious to him.

This was the moſt diſadvantagious they ever yet made: by it they loſt a great quantity of ſtrong places; and were in ſuch manner weakned, that had the purſuit of them been finiſhed, they could never have regained ſtrength. But *Monſieur*, who deſired to tranſport all the forces both of the one and the other party into the Low-Countries, made himſelf Mediator of the peace, and obtained it by an Edict, which was concluded after the Conference of *Fleix*.

Monſieur procures the peace.

This

This peace was the cauſe of almoſt as many evils to the Eſtate, as all the former Wars had been. The two Courts of the two Kings, and the two Kings themſelves, plunged themſelves in their pleaſures; with this difference however, that our *Henry* was not ſo abſolutely lull'd aſleep with his delights, but he thought ſometimes of his affairs, being awakened and lively reminded by the Remonſtrances of the Miniſters of his Religion, and by the reproaches of the old Captains of the *Hugonots*, who ſpoke to him with great liberty. But *Henry* the third was wholly overwhelmed with ſoftneſs and feebleneſs; he ſeemed to have neither heart nor motion: and his ſubjects could ſcarce know that he was in the world, but becauſe he dayly charged them with new Impoſts; all the money of which, was diſpoſed to the benefit of his Favorites.

Part I. Of much damage to the Eſtate, being the cauſe the two *Henries* plunged themſelves in pleaſure

He had always three or four at a time; and at preſent he began to caſt his graces on *Joyeuſe*, and the two *Nogarets*; to wit, *Bernard* and *Jean-Lewis*, of whom the eldeſt died five or six years after, and the youngeſt was Duke *d' Eſpernon*, one of the moſt memorable and moſt wonderful Subjects that the Court had ever ſeen elevated in its favour; and who certainly had qualities as eminent as his fortune. In the mean time, the exceſſive gifts which the King gave to all his favorites, excited the cries of the people, becauſe they were trampled on; and their monſtrous greatneſs diſpleaſed the Princes, becauſe they believed

Henry 3. hath favorites, who prejudice his affairs.

Part I. lieved themſelves deſpiſed; in ſuch manner, that they rendred themſelves odious to all the world: and the hate carried to them, fell likewiſe upon the King, whilſt that violence which they obliged him to uſe towards his Parliaments, to confirm his Edicts of Creation and Impoſts, augmented it yet more: for if his Authority made his Wills paſs as abſolute, he drew the peoples curſes; and if the vigour of the Soveraign companies, as often happened, ſtopt them, he attracted their diſdain.

The people, who eaſily licentiate themſelves to Rebellion againſt their Prince, when they have loſt for him all ſentiments of eſteem and veneration, ſpoke ſtrange things of him and his favorites. The *Guiſes*, (whom the Minions (for ſo the favorites were called) oppoſed in all occaſions, endeavouring to deprive them of their Charges and Governments, to re-inveſt themſelves) were not wanting to blow the fire, and to increaſe the animoſities of the people; particularly of the great Cities, whom favorites have always feared, and who have always hated favorites. Theſe were the principal Diſpoſitions to the aggrandizing the League, and to the loſs of *Henry* the third.

Diſpoſitions to the League, & to the loſs of *Hen.* 3.

1584. It is not to our purpoſe to recount here all the intrigues of the Court during five or ſix years; nor the War of the Low-Countries, from which *Monſieur* (a) brought nothing but

(a) *Monſieur intending to ſurprize* Antwerp, *and treating ill the people of the Low-Countries, who had called him, was driven thence.*

but diſgrace. It is onely neceſſary to tell, that in the year 1684. *Monſieur* died at *Caſtle-Thierry*, without having been married; that *Henry* the third had likewiſe no Children; and that it was but too well known he was uncapable of ever having any, by reaſon of an uncurable diſeaſe which he contracted at *Venice*, in his return from *Poland*. See here the reaſon why, as ſoon as *Monſieur* was judged to death by the Phyſitians, the *Guiſes* and Queen-Mother began to labour each on their ſide to aſſure themſelves of the Crown, as if the ſucceſſion had been open to them: for neither the one nor the other accounted for any thing our *Henry*; ſo much the rather, becauſe he was beyond the ſeventh degree, beyond which in ordinary ſucceſſions is accounted no kindred; and becauſe he was not of that Religion, of which all the Kings of *France* have been ſince *Clouis*, and by conſequence incapable to wear the Crown, or bear the Title of *Thrice-Chriſtian*. Adde to this that he was two hundred Leagues diſtant from *Paris*, and as it were ſhut up in a corner of *Guyenne*, where it ſeem'd to them eaſie to enſnare him or oppreſs him.

Part I.

The death of the Monſieur begets thoughts of a Succeſſor to the Crown.

The Queen-Mother deſigns to give the Crown to the children of her daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*.

The Queen-Mother had a deſign to give the Crown to the Children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, whom ſhe would have treated as Princes of the bloud, as if the Crown of *France* could fall under the command of the Spindle. Nor was ſhe carried to this onely out of the love ſhe had for them,

Part I. but out of a secret hatred she had conceived against our *Henry*, because she saw that contrary to all her wishes, heaven opened him a way to come to the Throne.

A belief that the Duke of *Guise* hoped to Reign himself.

Besides, she was too much deceived, for so able a woman, to believe that the Duke of *Guise* would favour her in her design: there was much appearance, and after affaires sufficiently testified it, that seeing himself persecuted by the Favorites, and ill treated by the King himself, for their sakes he had thoughts to assure the Crown for his own head. "*For ill treatments work at least no* "*other effect then to cast into extreme despaire,* "*Souls so Noble and Elevated as that of this* "*Prince.* But he knowing well that of himself he could not arrive at so high a pitch, and that specially because it would be difficult to divert the affection which the people of *France* naturally have for the Princes of the Bloud; he advised himself to gain the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, who was Uncle of our *Henry*: he promised him therefore, that the death of *Henry* the third Arriving, he would employ all his power, and that of his Friends, to make him King: and that good man doting with age, permitting himself to be flattered with these vain hopes, made himself the Bauble of the Dukes Ambition, who by this means drew to his party a great number of Catholiques, who considered the house of *Bourbon*.

The Question was, if the Uncle ought to precede

precede the Son of the Elder Brother in the Succeſſion: and to ſpeak truth, the buſineſs was not without ſome difficulty, becauſe according to the Cuſtome of *Paris*, the Capital of the Realm, and many other Cuſtomes, collateral repreſentation hath no place. This point of right was diverſly agitated by the Reverend Judges; and many treats were had, ſome in favour of the Uncle, and others of the Nephew: but theſe were but Combats of words; the ſword was to decide the difference. It ſeemed to many great Polititians, that the Duke of *Guiſe* acted contrary to his own intereſts and deſign, by acknowledgeing that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* ought to Succeed to the Crown; this being to avow, that after his death, which could ſuffer no long delay, it would appertain to our *Henry* his Nephew. Part I.

Henry 3. knew his deſign, or was adverti-ſed of it.

Henry 3. knew well his deſign, or rather was advertiſed of it by his Favorites, who ſaw in it their certain ruine, and therefore ſo much deſired to bring back the King of *Navarre* to the *Catholique* Church, to the end he might deprive the *Leaguers* of that ſpecious Pretext they had to entertain the *League*: He ſent therefore to him the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who Eſſayed to Convert him by reaſons of intereſt and policy. Our *Henry* hearkened to him; but he teſtified that thoſe were not motives ſufficiently puiſſant to make him Change; and ſent him back with many Civilities.

He ſends the Duke *d' Eſpernon* to the King of *Navarre*, to oblige him to return to the Catholick Church; but he refuſes.

Part I. The *Hugonots* were so vain, as to publish and cause to be Printed the conference of this Prince with *Espernon*, to shew that he was unshaken in his Religion, and possibly likewise to engage him more strongly in it. The Duke of *Guise* was not wanting to profit himself of it, and to remonstrate to the Catholique people the stubbornness of this Prince; and what they might hope, if he came to the Crown with such sentiments.

The Duke of *Guise* profits himself of it.

The League Established at *Paris*.

To stop therefore his way to it, he made the zealous openly renew the League; and boldly bringing it into *Paris*, where some new religious persons inspired this Ardour into peoples souls by Confessions, held the first publique Assembly at the Colledge de *Fortet*, which was called *the Cradle of the League*. Many Burgesses, many Tradesmen, and likewise some Clerks of *Paris*, entred into it. They carried it to *Rome*, and presented it to Pope *Gregory* the 13. for his approbation; but he never would give it: and continually, so long as he lived, disavowed it.

The Pope disapproves it.

So soon as it grew a little great and strong, those who had engendred it, made it appear that it was not only to provide for the security of Religion for the future, but that at present they might approach themselves neer to the Crown; and that they not onely would have it against the King of *Navarre*, who was to Succeed, but against *Henry* the third, who now reigned: They kept in Salary certain new Divines, who durst openly sustain, that a

It is turned against *Henry* the third.

Prince

Prince ought to be deposed who acquits himself not well of his duty: "That no power "but that which is well ordered, is of God; "otherwise, when it passes due bounds, it "is not Authority, but Usurpation: and that "it is as absurd to say that he ought to be "King who knows not how to govern, or "who is deprived of understanding, as to "believe a blind man a fit guide, or an im- "moveable Statue able to make living men "move. Part I.

In the mean time the Duke of *Guise* was retired to his Government of *Champagne*, feigning himself discontented; but it was to make the Duke of *Lorrain* sign the League, out of hopes he would cause his Son to Succeed to the Crown, to which he pretended to have right by his Mother, Daughter to *Henry* the Second. He held to this purpose a Treaty at *Joinville*, where he likewise found Agents from the King of *Spain*, who signed to the Treaty, and as it was reported, did by Letters of Exchange supply the Duke of *Guise* with great sums of money.

The Treaty of *Joinville* where the *Spaniards* enter into the League, & furnish money.

At his departure thence, the Duke assembled Troops on all sides: his friends seized on as many places as they could, not onely amongst the *Hugonots*, but likewise amongst the *Catholiques*. The King might easily have dissipated these Levies, had he taken the field. But the Queen-Mother, like to self-interested Physitians, who would for their profit augment the disease, withheld and amused

The League seize many places.

Part I.

amuſed him in his Cloſet, perſwading him that if he would leave to her the management of this affair, ſhe would eaſily reduce the Duke to his obedience. To this purpoſe ſhe held a Conference with him at *Vitry*, and ſo gave him time to ſtrengthen his party; and when he ſaw himſelf in an Eſtate to fear nothing, he broke the Conference, and made ſhew of ſome reſolutions to come directly to *Paris*.

The Queen-mother enters into conference with *Guiſe*; who breaks it when he ſees himſelf in an Eſtate to fear nothing.

The King aſtoniſhed, prayed his mother to conclude an accommodation upon any terms: which ſhe did by the Treaty of *Nemours*, by which ſhe granted to the Duke and other Princes of his houſe, the Government of ſeveral Provinces, many great ſums of money, together with a moſt bloudy Edict againſt the *Hugonots*, which forbad the profeſſion of any other Religion then the *Catholique*, under Penalty of Confiſcation of Goods and Eſtate; with Command to all Preachers and Miniſters to depart the Realm within one moneth, and all *Hugonots* of what degree or quality ſoever within ſix months, or otherwiſe abjure their falſe Religion. This Edict was called the Edict of *Juillet*, which the League farther conſtrained the King to carry himſelf into the Parliament, and cauſe it to be ratified.

The King aſtoniſhed, grants him all he deſires.

1585.

A little after arrived news from *Rome* that *Sixtus* the fifth, who ſucceeded *Gregory* the eighteenth, had approved the League, and had beſides fulminated out terrible Bulls againſt the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*,

Pope *Sixtus* 5. excommunicates the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Conde*.

Conde, declaring them Heretieks, Apoſtates, Chiefs, Favourers and Protectors of Heretieks, and as ſuch falling under the Cenſures and Pains concluded on in the Laws and Cannons, depriving them and their deſcendants of all Lands and Dignities, incapable to ſucceed to any Principality whatſoever, eſpecially to the Kingdome of *France*; and not onely abſolving their Subjects from all Oaths of Fidelity, but abſolutely forbidding them to obey them. Part I.

The vertue of our *Henry* awaked.

It was now that our *Henry* had need of all the forces both of his Courage and Vertue to ſuſtain ſo rude aſſaults. He ſeemed in a manner lull'd aſleep by his pleaſures: when the noiſe of theſe great aſſaults awakened him, he recalled all his Vertue, and began to make it appear more vigorouſly then ever before. And certainly he afterwards avowed that his enemies had highly obliged him, by perſecuting him in this manner: for had they left him in repoſe, that reſt had poſſibly Entombed him in a corner of *Guyenne*, and he not have been conſtrained to think of his affairs; ſo that at the death of *Henry* the third, he would not have been in an Eſtate to attempt or entertain the Crown.

He doth two noble actions.

He now did two Actions of great renown: the firſt, was his commanding *Pleſſis Mornay*, a Gentleman of excellent Education, and who could be reproached with nothing but being a *Hugonot*, to anſwer the *Manifeſto* of the League by an Apologie, and by a Declara-

Part I. tion which he cauſed to be drawn. In this laſt piece, (the Chiefs of the League having ſpread abroad divers calumnies againſt his honour) he with all ſubmiſſion beſought the King his Soveraign, that he would not be offended if he did pronounce, ſaving ſtill the reſpect due to his Majeſty, that they did falſely and maliciouſly lye: and moreover, that to ſpare the blood of his Nobles, and ſhun the deſolation of the poor people, thoſe infinite diſorders, and above all, thoſe blaſphemies, burnings and violations which the licenſe of War muſt cauſe, he offered to the Duke of *Guiſe*, chief of the League, to decide this quarrel by his perſon againſt his, one to one, two to two, ten to ten, or what number he ſhould pleaſe, with Arms generally in uſe by Cavaleers of honour, either in the Realm of *France*, or in ſuch place as his Majeſty ſhould command, or elſe in ſuch place as the Duke of *Guiſe* himſelf ſhould chuſe.

He defies the Duke of *Guiſe* to ſingle Combat.

This Declaration had a great effect o'er peoples ſpirit. They ſaid, That force could not juſtly be employed againſt him, who ſo far ſubmitted himſelf to reaſon: and the greateſt part of the Nobility approved this generous procedure; and proclaimed aloud, that the Duke of *Guiſe* ought not to refuſe ſo great an honour.

Why the Duke of *Guiſe* accepted not the defiance.

That Duke wanted no courage to accept the Defiance; but he conſidered, that drawing his ſword againſt a Prince of the blood, was in *France* accounted a kinde of Parricide; that otherwiſe he could willingly have reduced the

the cauſe of Religion, and of the Publick, to a particular Quarrel. He therefore prudently anſwered, That he eſteemed the perſon of the King of *Navarre*, and would have no controverſie with him; but that he onely intereſted himſelf for the Catholick Religion, which was threatned; and for the tranquillity of the Kingdome, which onely and abſolutely depended on the unity of Religion. Part I.

His other Action was thus. Having underſtood the noiſe of thoſe paper-Thunder-bolts which the Pope had thrown out againſt him, he diſpatched one to the King to make his Complaints to him; and to remonſtrate to him, That this procedure concerned his Majeſty nearer then himſelf; That he ought to judge, That if the Pope took upon him to decide concerning his ſucceſſion, and ſhould ſeize to himſelf a right to declare a Prince of the blood unable of the Crown, he might afterwards well paſs further, and dethrone himſelf, as *Zachary* is reported to have formerly degraded *Childeric* 3. The other gallant Action of our *Henry*.

Upon theſe Remonſtrances, the King hindred the publication of thoſe Bulls in his Dominions. But our *Henry*, not contenting himſelf therewith, knowing himſelf to have friends at *Rome*, proved ſo hardy as to fix his and the Prince of *Condé* his oppoſition at the corners of the chieſeſt ſtreets of the City: by which thoſe Princes appealed from the ſentence of *Sixtus*, to the Court of *Peerage* of *France*; giving the Lye to whoever accuſed them of the *Sixtus* 5. He cauſes to be fixed up at the corners of the chief ſtreets of *Rome*, oppoſitions to the ſentence of

Part I. the crime of Hereſie; offering to prove the contrary in a general Council: and in the end, profeſſing that they would revenge upon him, and upon all his ſucceſſours, the injury done their King, the Royal Family, and all the Courts of Parliament.

who at firſt is incenſed, but afterwards conceives a great eſteem for him.

It could not but be ſuppoſed, that this oppoſition would incenſe to the utmoſt the ſpirit of *Sixtus* the fifth; and indeed at firſt he teſtified a very furious emotion. However, when his Choler was a little aſſwaged, he admired the great Courage of that King, who at ſuch a diſtance had known how to revenge himſelf, and fix the marks of his reſentment even at the gates of his Palace: in ſuch manner, that he conceived ſo great an eſteem for him, (ſo true is it, that Vertue makes it ſelf be reverenced by its very enemies) that he was often afterwards heard ſay, That of all thoſe who reigned in *Chriſtendome*, there was none but this Prince, and *Elizabeth* Queen of *Enland*, to whom he would have communicated thoſe great things which agitated his ſpirit, if they had not been Hereticks. Nor could all the prayers of the League ever oblige him to furniſh any thing towards the charges of this War; which poſſibly overwhelmed the greateſt part of their Enterprizes, becauſe their hopes in part depended on a Million which he had promiſed them.

Now as on their ſide, the Chiefs of the League endeavoured to engage on their party all the Lords and Cities they could; our *Hen-*

ry

ry on his part re-united with him all his friends both of the one and the other Religion: the Marſhal of *Damville-Montmorency* Governour of *Languedoc*: the Duke of *Montpenſier*, Prince of the blood, who was Governour of *Poictou*, with his Son the Prince of *Dombes*: the Prince of *Condé*, who held a part of *Poictou*, of *Xaintonge*, and of *Angoumois*: the Count of *Soiſſons*, and the Prince of *Conty* his brother. Of theſe five Princes of the blood, the three laſt were his Couſen-Germans, the two firſt were removed one degree further; and all profeſſed the Catholick Religion, ſave onely the Prince of *Condé*. He had likewiſe on his part *Leſdiguieres*, who, from a plain Gentleman, had by his Valour elevated himſelf to ſo high a point, that he was Maſter of the *Daulphinate*, and made the Duke of *Savoy* tremble: *Claudius de la Trimouille*, who poſſeſſed great Lands in *Poictou* and *Brittany*, and was ſometimes before turned *Hugonot*, that he might have the honour to marry his Daughter to the Prince of *Condé*: *Henry de la Tour*, Viſcount of *Turenne*, who either out of complacency, or true perſwaſion, had eſpouſed the new Religion: *Chaſtillon*, ſon to the Admiral of *Coligny*; *la Boulaye* Lord *Poitevin*; *René*, chief of the houſe of *Rohan*; *George de Clermont d' Amboiſe*; *Francis*, Count of *Rochefoucaud*; the Lord *de Aubetterre*; *James de Caumont-la-force*; the *Seigneurs de Pons*; *Saint-Gelais-Lanſac*: with many other Lords and Gentlemen of remark, all, or moſt, of the new Religion.

Part I. The King of *Navarre* makes a League to defend himſelf.

Part I. gion. At the ſame time he diſpatched to *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, and to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*, ſuch able Agents, that they joyned all together in a ſtrong Union, The One to maintain the Other: ſo that all theſe being united, all things arrived contrary to what the League expected; and our *Henry* found himſelf fortified in ſuch manner, that he had no longer any apprehenſion of being oppreſſed, without having the means to defend himſelf.

I ſhall not make here a particular Recital of the Actions either of the one or the other party during the years 1585. and 1586. becauſe I have obſerved nothing very conſiderable.

1586. King *Henry* the third was extreamly perplexed at this War, which was maintained at his expence, and to his great prejudice, ſince they diſputed the ſucceſſion, he yet living, and well, and already conſidered him as one dead. He loved neither the one nor the other party; but did ſo much cheriſh his Favourites, (ſtrange blindneſs!) that he could have deſired, had it been in his power, to have parted his Eſtate amongſt them. The League on their ſide pretended to have power enough to carry it; and our *Henry* hoped to fruſtrate the deſignes both of the one and the other. The Queen-mother having other wiſhes for the children of her Daughter married to the Duke of *Lorrain*, promiſed the King to finde means to

Henry 3. hated both the League & the *Hugonots*, and loved none but his favourites.

The Queen-mother endeavours an accommodation with the King of *Navarre*.

to calm all theſe tempeſts. To this purpoſe ſhe procured a Truce with our *Henry*: during which, an Interview was agreed upon between him and her at the Caſtle of St. *Brix* near *Coignac*; where both the one and the other met in the month of *December*. Part I.

The Interview and conference at St. *Brix*.

There was ſome difficulty to finde ſecurity both for the one and the other; but eſpecially for the Queen-mother, who was wonderfully diſtruſtful. Our *Henry* hereupon did an Action of great Generoſity; which he managed in this manner: There had a Truce been agreed upon for the ſecurity of this Conference, in ſuch ſort, that if either party broke it, they were in fault, and might juſtly be arreſted: now ſome of our *Henry*'s followers, feigning to be Traytors, had enticed ſome of the Catholick-Captains, too greedy of the booty, to *Fontenay*, which they would have let them take: by this means the Catholicks would have remained convict of perfidy, and he had had good pretence to arreſt the Queen-mother: but this generous Prince, having underſtood the carriage of this foul play, was extreamly troubled againſt thoſe who contrived it, and forbad them to continue it. Was not this to have the true ſentiments of honour founded in his Soul, and not onely in his exteriour Carriage?

A noble & generous Action of our Prince.

And as he teſtified his Generoſity in that Rencounter, ſo he made known his Conſtancy and the power of his Spirit in all the Diſcourſe. The Queen demanding of him what

His conſtancy in the whole conference.

it

Part I. it was he would; he answered, regarding those Ladies she had brought with her, *Madam, there is nothing that I would have:* as if he would have said, That he would not longer permit himself to be drawn away by such allurements. She endeavoured above all things to disunite him with the other Chiefs of his party, or to render him suspected, offering all that he demanded as to his particular: but he, knowing well her stratagem, held firmly to this point, That he could not treat any thing without communicating it to his Friends.

After a long entertainment, she once demanding him if the pains she had taken should produce no more fruit, especially to her, who onely wished for repose; he answered her, *Madam, I am not the cause of it; nor is it I who hinder you from resting in your Bed: it is you that hinder me from resting in mine. That pains you take, pleaseth and nourishes you; for Repose is the greatest enemy of your life.*

He made many other Replies, very lively and full of spirit: but above all, that was observable which he made to the Duke of *Nevers*, of the house of *Gonzague*, who accompanied the Queen-mother. This Duke advancing once to tell him that he might live much more honourably near the King then among those people who had no authority; and that if he should have occasion for money at *Rochel*, he would scarce have the credit to raise one impost; he fiercely replyed, *Sir, I*

A handsome answer to Duke *de Nevers.*

do

do at Rochel *all that I please, because I shall please to do nothing but what I ought.* Part I.

This Conference of St. *Brix* having produced nothing but new Exasperations, and the Queen-mother being returned, the *Guises*, who endeavoured by all means possible to revenge themselves of the Favourites, made offer of their service to our *Henry*; and the Duke of *Mayenne* sent to tell him, that there might means be found for an accommodation, if he would understand them: that he would come to finde him with four horse, at whatever place he pleased; and that he would give him his Wife and Children for Hostage. This Negotiation had no success, nor can *I* finde the cause why it was interrupted. Conference at St. *Brix* produceth nothing.

The rest of the Winter passed in the two Courts in Feasts and Dances: for though among the miseries and troubles of the Kingdome, Queen *Katherine* had introduced that custome of Dancing in all places and in all seasons: which she did, as it was said, to amuse the great ones of the Court in those vain Divertisements; there being nothing which more dissipates the powers of the spirit, nor which is more capable, if we may speak so, to dissolve the forces of the soul, then the ravishing sound of Violins, the continual agitation of the body, and Charms of Ladies. After the Examples of the Court, Dances and Maskes reigned in all the Realm: Nor could the Remonstrances of the Ministers hinder these Dances among the greatest part of the *Hugo-* Dances and Feasts in the Courts of the two Kings.

Blaise de Monluc, *Marshal of* France, *who writ in these times, says in his* Memoires, *That whatever affair there were of force, the Dancing was still to go forward.*

not

Part I. *not* Lords, though there were ſtill ſome who could not ſuffer it.

1587. In the Spring, ſome Enterpriſes began, both on one part and the other; but they were nothing in compariſon of what was done towards the end of the Summer. The Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſent an Army to the aſſiſtance of the *Hugonots*, conſiſting of Five thouſand *Lanſquenets* or *German* Foot, Sixteen thouſand *Switzers*, and Six thouſand *Reiſtres* or *German* Horſe. They traverſed *Lorrain* and *Champagne*, afterwards paſſed the *Seine*, and marched towards the *Loire*, as if they would have paſſed it, or coaſt along it in their re-advancing. At the ſame time the King of *Navarre* had gathered his forces towards *Rochel*, and endeavoured to come to meet them unto the Bankes of the *Loire*; but he was hindred by an Army of the Kings, commanded by the Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who had order diligently to purſue him. The Duke of *Guiſe* having likewiſe gathered the forces of his party; and though they were very ſmall, followed ſometimes the *German* horſe, ſometimes coaſted them, and oftentimes mixed himſelf amongſt them without any great danger; ſo much the rather, becauſe this too weighty body of ſtrangers could not eaſily move, being troubled with a great baggage, not having a Chief either of any great Credit, or ſufficiently intelligent to Conduct; and all its Captains being in diſcord and bad intelligence one with the other.

An Army of *German* Proteſtants enter *France*.

It is followed by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

By

By reason of all these defaults, this Army could never take any good Resolution. The *Loire* was fordable in many places; for it was about the end of *September*: but nevertheless they would not pass it, but came to spread themselves in the *Champaines* of *Beaustre*, expecting News from the King of *Navarre*, instead of advancing amongst the *Nivernois*, and gaining *Burgongne*. The intention of the King of *Navarre*, was to advance along *Dordogna*, and from thence enter into *Guyenne*; and after having gathered together all his Forces, to meet the Protestant Army in *Burgongne*, by the favour of those Provinces were his friends. But the Duke of *Joyeuse* obstinately pursued him; imagining he fled, because in effect he avoided fighting, having no other end then a Conjunction with the *Germans*.

Part I.

It doth nothing to purpose.

The King of *Navarre* would joyn with them, but the Duke of *Joyeuse* makes head against him with an Army.

This new Duke was much declined in his favour with the King, who had received advice that he inclined much to the League; not that he loved the *Guises*, but because he had permitted it to be put into his head by his flatterers, that he deserved to be Chief of that great party; and he held the destruction of the *Hugonots* so certain, that he had obtained from the Pope the Confiscation of all the Soveraign Territories of our *Henry*. Desiring therefore to sustain his Reputation and Favour, which were then tottering, he pursued him so closely, that he overtook him near to *Coutras*.

The Duke overtakes him near *Coutras*.

The Army of *Joyeuse* was, as one may say,

What the Army of *Joyeuse* was,

Part I. all of Gold, shining with Silver and Gold Laces; with Damasked Arms; with Feathers in great Plumes; with Embroydered Scarfs; with Velvet Coats, with which every Lord, according to the mode of the times, had furnished his Companies: but the Army of the King of *Navarre*, was all of Iron, having no other then Grizled Arms, without any Ornament, with great Belts of Buff, and labouring Habits. The first had the advantage in number, having six hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, more then the other; the half of its Infantry, Dragoons; its Cavalry almost all Lances, and most mounted on managed Horses: it had besides for it, the Name and Authority of the King, and assurance of Rewards; but the better half of it was composed of new Troops, which wanted Order and Discipline: It had a General without Authority; an hundred Chiefs in stead of one; and all young people, elevated in the Delights of the Court, having sufficient Heart and Courage, but without any Experience.

What that of the King.

The other on the contrary was composed of all the choice men of its party: the old remnant of the Battails of *Jarnac* and *Montcontour*; people bred up in the mystery of War, and hardned by the continual endurance of Fights and Adversities. It had at its Head, three Princes of the Blood, the Chief of them well obeyed and reverenced as the presumptive Heir of the Crown, the love of the Souldiery, and hope of all good French-men: besides, it

was

was armed with a necessity either to overcome or die; Armour of more proof then either Steel or Brass. Part I.

Orders being given, the King of *Navarre* called all his Chiefs; and from a little rising ground, exhorted them in few words, but such as were agreeable both to his Quality and the time; taking Heaven to witness, that he fought not against his King, but for the Defence of his Religion and Right. Afterwards addressing himself to the two Princes of the Blood, *Condé* and *Soissons*; *I shall say nothing else to you*, said he, *but that you are of the house of* Bourbon; *and if God live, I will now shew you that I am worthy to be the first-born of that Family.* His Exhortation to his Army, and to the Princes of the Blood.

His Valour that day appeared above that of all others. He had placed on his Head-piece a Plume of white Feathers, both to make himself known, and because he loved that colour: so that some putting themselves before him, out of designe to shelter and defend his person, he cryed out to them, *To your Quarter, I pray you, and do not shadow me; for I would appear.* "A Bravery without doubt absolutely "necessary for a Conquerour, but which "would be temerity and an unsupportable "fault in a Prince well established. He broke the first ranks of the Enemy, and took Prisoners with his own hand, and came even to handy-gripes with one named *Chasteau-Reynard*, Cornet of a Company of *Gens d' Armes*, saying to him, *Deliver thy Colours.* His valour & bravery.

Part I. The Battail being gained, some having seen the Flyers, who made a halt, came to tell him, that the Army of the Marshal of *Matignon* appeared: he received this News as a new subject of Glory; and turning bravely towards his people, *Let us go, my Friends*, said he, *this will be a thing never before seen, two Battails in one day.*

It was not onely his Valour made him worthy to be admired in this occasion; it was likewise his Justice, Moderation and Clemency: for his Justice, we may recount what follows.

An Action of great Justice, and Christian Humility.

He had debauched the Daughter of an Officer of *Rochel*; a thing which had dishonoured that Family, and very much scandalized him among the *Rochellers*. A Minister, as the Squadrons were almost ready to go to the charge, and that the Prayer was to be made, took the Liberty to remonstrate to him, That God could not favour his Arms, if he did not before demand pardon for that offence, repair the scandal by a publick satisfaction, and restore Honour to a Family he had deprived of it. The good King humbly hearkned to these Remonstrances, fell upon his Knees, demanded of God pardon for his fault; prayed all those who were present to serve as witnesses of his repentance; and to assure the Father of the Maiden, that if God gave him the grace to live, he would repair as much as possible the Honour he had deprived her of. So Christian a submission, drew tears from all the Assistants:

nor

nor was there any who would not have ventured a thousand Lives for a Prince who so cordially inclined himself to do Reason to his inferiours. Part I.

Having thus overcome himself, God made him Conquerour over his Enemies: and who knows but that he exalted him, because he so Christianly humbled himself? The Enemies Army was wholly defeated, with the loss of five thousand men: all their Cannon, baggage, Ensignes, and all their chief Commanders, were taken Prisoners, except two or three, among whom were the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and of St. *Saviour* his brother, who were found dead on the place. The Battail of *Coutras*, which he gains. *Joyeuse* slain.

That night, our Conquerour finding his Lodgings full of Prisoners and wounded persons of the Enemy, was constrained to cause his Bed to be carried to those of *Plessis Mornay*: but the Body of *Joyeuse* being laid forth on the Table in the Hall, he was there forced to mount on high; and there, while he supt, were presented unto him the prisoners, fifty six foot-Ensignes, and twenty two Standards and Cornets.

It was a fair and glorious Spectacle for this Prince, to have under his feet that Enemy who had obtained from the Pope the Confiscation of his Territories; to see his Table environed with so many Noble Captains, and his Chamber tapistred with Ensignes. But to speak truth, it was much more agreeable to generous Souls, to see, that amongst so many sub-

Part I. jects of Vanity and Pride; and in ſo juſt reſentments of thoſe bloudy injuries done him, (things which often tranſport the ſweeteſt Souls to inſolence and cruelty) there could not be obſerved either in his words or countenance, the leaſt ſign that might breed any ſuſpition, that either his Conſtancy or Goodneſs were ever ſo little altered: but on the contrary, ſhewing himſelf as Courteous and Humane in his victory, as he had ſhewed himſelf brave and redoubtable in fight; he ſent back almoſt all the Priſoners without ranſome, reſtored their baggage to many, took great care of the wounded, and gave the body of *Joyeuſe* and *S. Saveur* to the Viſcount *de Turenne*, who was their Kinſman; and diſpatched the next morning his Maſter of Requeſts to the King, to intreat peace of him: from whence it was judged, that ſo great a courage would overcome all its enemies, and that nothing would be capable to renverſe his fortune, whom ſo great a proſperity was not able to move.

His moderation and admirable Clemency in his Victory.

He purſues it not, and wherefore.

He was however blamed, for not having hotly purſued his victory, and for having permitted that Triumphant Army to break by, not again employing them in ſome great exploit. It was believed, and there was much appearance for it, that he would not preſs things too forward, for fear of too much offending the King, with whom he deſired yet to keep ſome meaſures; hoping daily that he might reconcile himſelf to him, and re-

turn

turn to Court, where it was neceſſary he ſhould be, that he might be in a condition to take the Crown, when *Henry* the third ſhould dye. In fine, were it for this reaſon, or other, he retired into *Gaſcoigne*, and from thence into *Bearne*, under pretext of ſome affairs; carrying with him only Five hundred horſe, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, whom he kept neer him, out of hopes to make him Eſpouſe his ſiſter. The Prince of *Conde* returned to *Rochel*, and *Turenne* to *Perigord*. Part I.

Defeat of the *German* horſe.

In the mean time, that great Army of *Germans* having received many checks in ſeveral places, but eſpecially at *Auneau* in *Beauſſe*, where the Duke of *Guiſe* ſlew or took Priſoners Three thouſand *Reiſtres*; afterward at *Pont de Gien*, where the Duke *d' Eſpernon* took Twelve hundred *Lanſquenets* or Foot, and almoſt all the Cannon; willingly hearkened to an agreement, which the King cauſed to be propoſed to them: and afterwards retired by *Burgongne*, and by the County of *Montbeliard*, but were ſtill purſued farther in that County, by the Duke of *Guiſe*.

The reſt of that Army retire.

Now began the year One thouſand five hundred eighty eight; which all Judicial Aſtrologers had called the wonderful year, becauſe they foreſaw ſo great a number of ſtrange accidents, and ſuch confuſion in natural cauſes, that they were aſſured, that if the end of the world came not, there would happen at leaſt an Univerſal Change. 1588

Prognoſtications of the evils of the year 1588.

Part I. Their Prognosticks were seconded by a a number of terrible Prodigies which arrived throughout all *Europe*. In *France* there were great Earth-quakes, along the River *Loire*, and likewise in *Normandy*. The Sea was for six weeks together disturbed with continual tempests, which seemed to confound both heaven and earth. In the Aire appeared divers Phantasmes of fire; and on the four and twentieth of *January*, *Paris* was covered with so horrible a darkness, that those who had the best eyes, could scarce see any thing at noon-day, without the help of lights. All these Prodigies seemed to signifie what soon after Arrived, the death of the Prince of *Conde*, the Besieging of *Paris*, the Subversion of the whole Realm, the Murthering of *Messieurs de Guise*, and in fine the *Parricide* of *Henry* the third.

Death of the Prince of *Conde*.

As for the Prince of *Conde*, he died in the month of *March*, at *S. John d' Angeli*, where he then made his residence. Though there had been a secret jealousie between him and the King of *Navarre*, even to the making of two factions in their party; yet the King resented this losse with an extreme grief; and having shut himself up in his Closet, with the *Count de Soissons*, he was heard to cast forth great cries, and say that he had lost his right hand: However, after his grief was a little evaporated, he recovered his Spirit; and casting all his trust on Divine Protection, he came forth, saying with a heart full of Chri-

The King of *Navarre* much afflicted.

But in his affliction puts his trust in God.

stian

ſtian aſſurance: *God is my refuge and my ſupport, it is in him alone I will hope, and I ſhall not be confounded.* Part I.

It was truly a great loſſe for him: he was now alone to Support all the weight of affairs; and being denuded of this aſſiſter, remained more expoſed to the attempts of the League, who had now only to give a like blow to his perſon, to remain Conquerours in all their affairs. He had therefore juſt cauſe to fear their attempts: However, the Duke of *Guiſe* had a heart ſo Noble and great, that whilſt he lived, he would never ſuffer ſuch deteſtable waies.

The Conſidence of the League encreaſed wonderfully, by the death of this Prince; they teſtified extraordinary rejoycings, and publiſhed that it was an effect of the Juſtice of God, and of the Apoſtolick curſes. The *Hugonots* on the contrary, were in an extreme conſternation, conſidering that they had loſt in him their moſt aſſured Chief, becauſe they believed him firmly perſwaded in their Religion; but had not the ſame opinion of the King of *Navarre*. In effect, the Confuſion and Diſorder was ſo great amongſt them, that in all appearance, had they continued ſtrongly to proſecute them, they might have ſoon ruined them. The King hated them mortally, and would willingly have conſented; but he would manage things in ſuch manner, that their deſtruction ſhould not prove the agrandizing of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and his own loſſe: but this Duke

The League rejoyce.

The *Hugonots* afflicted.

Sentiments of *Hen.* 3.

Part I. Duke knowing his intentions, preſſed him continually to give him forces utterly to exterminate the *Hugonots*, in whoſe ruine he infallibly hoped to involve the King of *Navarre*.

The Duke of *Guiſe* preſſeth him to give him forces to exterminate the *Hugonots*.

He had this advantage over the King, that he had acquiſted the love of the people, principally by two means; the firſt, by his oppoſing himſelf to the new Impoſts; and the ſecond, by continually being at variance with the Favorites, nor ever bending before them: whilſt the doing of things contrary, had made the King fall into an extreme low Eſteem, and had likewiſe taken away the heat of ſome of his ſervants love. See here an Example.

The Duke of *Guiſe* much loved, and *Hen.* 3. much hated.

The King had two great men in his Councel, *Peirre d' Eſpinac* Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and *Villeroy* Secretary of State: The Duke *d'Eſpernon*, who was fierce and haughty, would treat them according to his proud humour; they grew exaſperated againſt him, and thereupon change their affection to the Duke of *Guiſe* his party, but without doubt ſtill in their hearts remaining moſt faithful to the King and Crown of *France*, as afterward well appeared, eſpecially in the perſon of *Villeroy*.

D' Eſpinac & Villeroy become friends to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and why.

In the mean time, the King lived after the ordinary manner, in the profuſions of an odious Luxury, and in the lazineſs of a contemptible Retreat; paſſing his time either in ſeeing Dances, or in playing with little Dogs, of which he had great numbers of all ſorts; or

The ill Conduct of *Henry* 3.

or else in Teaching Parriquito's to speak, or in Cutting of Images, or in other Occupations more becoming an Infant then a King. Part I.

The Conduct and employs of the Duke of *Guise.*

But the Duke of *Guise* lost no time: he made dayly new friends, conserved his old ones, caressed the people, testified a great zeal for the Ecclesiasticks, undertook their defence against all would oppress them; and every where appeared with the Splendor and Gravity of a Prince, but yet without Pride, without Arrogancy: The *Parisians* were intoxicated with esteem for him; the greatest part of the Parliament, and most part of the other Officers attended his motions, and testified to him the affection they ought to the service of the King.

What the *sixteen* were.

There were an infinite number of people who had signed the League: and in the sixteen Quarters or Wards of *Paris*, when they could not gain the Quarteniers or Aldermen, they chose one the most violent of the Leaguers to act in their function; by reason of which, they afterwards called at *Paris* the Principal of this party, and their faction, *the sixteen*: not that they were but *sixteen*, for their number exceeded Ten thousand, but all dispersed through the sixteen Quarters.

The King would punish them.

Now the King, principally incited by the Duke *d' Espernon*, resolved to punish the forwardest of these *sixteen*, who in all occasions shewed themselves furious enemies of that Favorite. By this means he thought to overthrow

Part I. overthrow the League, and absolutely ruine the Credit and Reputation of the Duke of *Guise*. He caused therefore some Troops secretly to enter into *Paris*, and gave order to seize on those persons.

The Duke of *Guise* hastes to defend them.

The Duke of *Guise*, being advised of it, posts from *Soissons*, where he then was, resolving to perish rather then lose his friends. Barricadoes were raised in the month of *May*, even to the Gates of the *Louvre*, and the Kings Troops were all cut in pieces or disarmed. The Queen-mother, according to her ordinary custome, became mediatrix of an Accommodation, but the King fearing to be inclosed; in a fright, retires to *Chartres*.

The King retires to *Chartres*.

The League by this becoming Mistress of *Paris*, take possession of the *Bastille*, the *Hostel de Ville*, and the *Temple*; hang the Provost of the Merchants, and the Civil Lieutenant. And at the same time they assured themselves of *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, *Chaulons*, and more then twenty other Cities in several Provinces; the people every where crying, *Long live* Guise, *Long live the Protector of the Faith.*

The League becomes Mistris of *Paris*.

The King, not without much reason, was extreamly affrighted. The *Parisians* deputed some to him to *Chartres*, to ask pardon: but withal, they demand the extirpation of Heresie. All the world encreased his fears, none fortified his Courage. In this distress he knew no securer way to shun that danger which threatned him, then by essaying to disarm his sub-

The *Parisians* send Deputies to the King

subjects. To this effect he sends one of his Masters of the Requests to the Parliament, to let them understand, that his absolute intention was to forget all that was past; so that every one returned to his Duty, and to labour diligently for the Reformation of the Kingdome: for which end, he found it convenient to assemble the General Estates at the end of the year, where they might provide for the assuring a Catholick Successor of the Blood-Royal; protesting, that he would observe inviolably all the Resolutions of the Estates, but that he would have them free, and without Faction, and that from that day all his Subjects should lay down Arms. Part I. The King pardons all; so they lay down Arms.

It much troubled the Duke of *Guise* to consent to the laying down Arms; fearing lest when he was left defenceless, he should remain at the mercy of his enemies, and particularly of the Duke *d' Espernon*. He therefore stirred up the Parisians by a famous deputation, to demand the continuation of the War against the *Hugonots*, and the expulsion of that Duke. The King, after some resistance, granted both the one and the other: for he caused to be Ratified in Parliament an Edict most advantagiously favourable for the League, and most bloody against the *Hugonots*; and he bid Adieu to the Duke *d' Espernon*, who retired into his Government of *Angoumois*. The Duke of *Guise* demands the expulsion of *Espernon*; which is in the end granted.

After this, the Duke of *Guise* came to attend the King at *Chartres*, having the Queen-mothers And after comes to the Court at *Chartres*.

Part I. mothers word for his Security; and both gave great assurances of his Fidelity, and received all the testimonies he could wish, of the affection of the King; insomuch that he made him great Master of the *Gens d'Arms* of *France*.

In the mean time the Leagne gained the upper hand throughout all the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, and caused Deputies for the Estates to be elected at its pleasure. In the moneth of *November*, the Estates assembled in the City of *Blois*. It is not necessary here to recount all their intrigues. In fine, the King perswading that they had conspired to dethrone him, caused the Duke of *Guise*, and the Cardinal his Brother, to be slain in the Castle; and kept prisoner the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Prince of *Joinville*, who after the Death of his Father was called Duke of *Guise*, and the Duke of *Nemours*, brother by the mother to the first Duke.

The Estates of *Blois*.

The death of the *Guises*.

The Queen-mother, under whose word the *Guises* thought to have been in security, was so touched with the reproaches made her, and with the slightings of the King her Son, who after this, believed he had no more need of her, that she died with grief and envy few days after, lamented by no person, not so much as by her Son, and generally hated by all parties.

Death of Queen *Katherine de Medices*.

In truth, if ever there were an Action ambiguous or problematical, it was this. The servants of the King said that he was constrained to it by the extream audacity of the *Guises*; and

Different Judgments concerning the death of the *Guises*.

and that if he had not prevented them, they had shaved him, and shut him up in a Monastery. But the ill repute he had among all men, the general esteem these Princes had acquisted, and the odious circumstances of the murther, made it appear horrible even to the eyes of the very *Hugonots*, who said, that this much resembled the bloody Massacre of St. *Bartholomew*. Part 1.

Our *Henry* conserved a wise Mediocrity in this rencounter: he deplored their death, and gave praises to their Valour: but he said, That certainly the King had very puissant Motives to treat them in that manner: and for the rest, that the Judgements of God were great, and his Grace thrice-special towards him, having revenged him of his Enemies, and neither engaged his Conscience nor his hand in it. For certain Gentlemen having often offered themselves to him with a determinate resolution to go kill the Duke of *Guise*, he had always let them know, that he abhorred such a Proposition; and that he would neither esteem them his friends, nor honest men, if they conserved it in their thoughts. Our *Henry* speaks very wisely.

His Council being assembled upon this great News, found, that he ought not for it make any change in the conduct of his Affairs, because the King, though himself might be willing to it, durst not for some moneths speak of a Peace with him, for fear lest he should make it be believed that he had slain the *Guises* to favour the *Hugonots*; so that he continued the War, and kept several places. He changeth not his Conduct.

In

Part I.

In the mean time, the progreſs of Affairs beat him out a path to lead him to the heart of the Kingdom, and return him to the Court, which was the poſt he ought moſt to wiſh for.

1589.

Henry 3. amuſing himſelf too much at *Blois*, the League is re-aſſured, and grows furious.

Henry the third, amuſing himſelf after the murther of the *Guiſes*, to examine the Acts of the Eſtates at *Blois*, inſtead of mounting preſently to horſe, and ſhewing himſelf in thoſe places where his preſence was moſt neceſſary; the League, which at firſt had been aſtoniſhed at ſo great a blow, regained its ſpirits. The great Cities, and principally *Paris*, who were poſſeſſed with this madneſs, having had leiſure to diſſipate their amazement, paſſed from fear to pity, and from pity to fury. The *Sixteen* choſe at *Paris* the Duke of *Aumarle* for their Governour. The Preachers and Church-men declaimed horribly againſt the King; the people ſnatched down his Arms where-ever they found them, and dragged them through the dirt. The Parliament, who would have oppoſed this rage, were impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le Clerk*, a ſimple Proctor, but very much eſteemed among the *Sixteen*; and were forced, to regain their Liberty, to ſwear to the League. At their coming forth of the *Baſtille*, there were many who continued to hold the Parliament at *Paris*; the others ſtole away by little and little, and went to the King, who tranſported the Parliament to *Tours*, where they kept their Seſſion until the reducement of *Paris*, in the year fifteen hundred

The Parliament impriſoned in the *Baſtille* by *Buſſy le Clerk*; forced to ſwear to the the League. A part remains at *Paris*, and the others go to the King, who tranſfers all to *Tours*

dred ninety four. These without doubt te- Part I.
ſtified moſt fidelity to their King; but thoſe who remained at *Paris*, rendred him afterwards much greater ſervice, as ſhall be obſerved in its place.

The Widow of the Duke of *Guiſe* preſented her requeſt to theſe, to take information of the Death of her Husband; and demanded of the Commiſſaries, that proceſs might be made againſt thoſe ſhould be found convicted of it. She received favourable Concluſions from the Proctor-General; and they proceeded very far on this ſubject, even againſt the perſon of *Henry* 3. but I cannot ſay to what point, becauſe the Papers were taken from the Regiſters of Parliament, when *Henry* the Great re-entred into *Paris*. Thoſe of the Parliament remaining at *Paris*, make proceſs againſt *Henry* 3.

"We cannot ſufficiently deteſt like Revolts "againſt a Soveraign: but theſe Examples "ought to make him know, that though he "holds his power from on high, yet the O-"bedience depends on the Caprichio of the "people, and that he ought ſo to carry himſelf "as not to attract their hatred; otherwiſe, "ſince men have the impudence to blaſpheme "God, why may they not have it to revolt a-"gainſt Kings? An excellent reflection for Kings.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Henry* the third underſtood that Pope *Sixtus* the fifth had excommunicated him for the murther of Cardinal *de Guiſe*. This great fire in a little time flamed quite through *France*. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was at *Lyons* making war a- *Henry* 3. excommunicated by Pope *Sixtus* 5. The Duke of *Mayenne* aſſures

Part I.

himſelf of *Burgongne* and *Champagne*, and comes to *Paris*.

gainſt the *Hugonots*, being advertized by a Courrier from *Roiſſieu* his Secretary, (who prevented the Kings) departing from that City, came into his own Government of *Burgongne*, aſſured himſelf of *Dijon* and of *Province*; and thence paſſed into *Champagne*, who ſtretched out their Arms to him; after to *Orleance*, which was already revolted; and ſo *Chartres*, whom his approaches made likewiſe riſe: and in the end he came to *Paris*. The *Sixteen*, and many of his friends, would have adviſed him to have taken the Title of *King*, which they would have cauſed to be given him by the Council which the League had eſtabliſhed: but he refuſed, contenting himſelf with the Title of *Lord-General of the Eſtate and Crown of France*; which he took, as if the Throne had been vacant. They likewiſe broke the Seals of the King, and made others, whereon on one ſide was engraven the Arms of *France*; and on the other, a Throne empty; and for inſcription about it, the Name and Quality of the Duke of *Mayenne* in this manner; Charles *Duke of* Mayenne, *Lieutenant of the Eſtate and Crown of* France.

He takes the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Eſtate and Crown of *France*: they likewiſe break the Kings Seals.

All *France* took part in this occaſion; and almoſt all the Cities and Provinces of the Realm ranged themſelves on the Duke of *Mayenne*'s ſide. The King, fearful that he ſhould be ſhut up in *Blois*, retired to *Tours*. There now reſted onely one way for him to defend himſelf againſt ſo many dangers as were ready to environ him; and this was, to call to his aſſiſtance

Henry 3. for fear, retires to *Tours*.

assistance the King of *Navarre*, who had five or six thousand men, old Souldiers, by whom he was well beloved. Yet he durst not do it, for fear to be esteemed a Favourer of Hereticks, or incur the blame of violating those Edicts against the *Hugonots* he had so solemnly sworn to in the Estates of *Blois*. He tryed therefore all sorts of ways to appease the resentment of the Duke of *Mayenne*; offering him very advantagious Conditions. But what assurance, said the *Leaguers*, can this Duke have, his Brothers being murthered in so perfidious a manner? So that he not hearkning to any Proposition of Accommodation, *Henry* the third was constrained to turn his thoughts toward the King of *Navarre*.

Part I.

He in vain endeavours to appease the Duke of *Mayenne*.

He in the end calls the King of *Navarre*, & gives him *Saumur*.

This Prince above all things would have a passage over the River *Loire*: the City of *Saumur* was given to him, where he established Governour *Plessis Mornay*, who fortified the Castle, and made it the head of the *Hugonot*-Garisons. Being afterwards from thence approached *Tours*, his old Captains kept him for some time in distrust, and hindred him from going to see the King, whom they feared (they said) lest in a time wherein a Treason was so necessary for him, to draw him out of that Labyrinth wherein the Action of *Blois* had involved him, he should buy his Absolution at the price of the King of *Navarre*'s Life.

The King perswaded by his friends not to trust him.

The Duke *d' Espernon*, who was returned to Court to serve his Master at his need, and

Part I. the Marshal *d' Aumont*, would have engaged him to it, and given him their words: but his friends could not consent that he should expose himself to the Faith of a Prince, who as they believed, had not any. In truth their fears were just, and our *Henry* was without doubt possessed with them as well as they: However, after he had well considered that he acted now for the safety of *France*, for the service of the King, and to open to himself a way to defend that Crown appertained to him, he resolved to hazard all, and to resigne himself absolutely to the holy Guard of the soveraign Protector of Kings.

Yet he resolves to go, arrive what will:

The City of *Tours* is situated as it were in an Island, a little below the place where the River *Cher* mingles its streams with the *Loire*, having coasted that great River three or four Leagues. The King of *Navarre*'s people would not that he should engage himself between these Rivers, but that the Conference should be held beyond the *Cher*. He almost alone was of opinion contrary to them all; nevertheless to content them, he was constrained to hold a Council on the Banks, and after to permit his Captains to pass first, as if to sound the Ford. He passed after them, and arrived at *Plessis les Tours*, about three a Clock in the Afternoon, in a War-like Habit, all durty, ready to be covered with his Cuiras; himself onely having a Cloak, all his people being in their Doublets, and ready to put on their Arms, that he might shew he was not

to which purpose he passes the River *Cher*.

not come to compose his Court, but to serve him well. Part I.

He went to meet the King, who heard Vespers at the Minimes. The crowd of the people was so great, that they were a long time before they could joyn. Our *Henry* being within three paces of the King, cast himself at his feet, endeavouring to kiss them; but the King would not permit him, but lifting him up, embraced him with great tenderness: they reiterated their embraces three or four times, the King naming him his Thrice-dear Brother, and he calling him his Lord. There were now heard eccho the joyful Cries of *Vive le Roy*, which had for a long time been silent; as if the presence of our *Henry* had given a new birth to the peoples affections, which seemed extinct for *Henry* the third.

His interview with the King at *Tours*.

After the two Kings had for some time entertained each other, our *Henry* passed the River, and went to lodge at the Suburb of St. *Simphorien*: for he had been obliged to promise thus much to the old *Hugonots*, who believed snares and traps every where laid for him. But he who was pricked forward by other Motives, and who was endowed with that generous Principle, "That we ought not be "too sparing of our Lives when there is some-"thing to be gained which ought to be more "precious then Life it self to a great Courage, departed the next morning at six of the Clock, without advertizing his people; and attended onely by one Page, passing the

He repasses the River, and lies in the Fauxbourg;

but on the morrow visits the King alone.

Part I. Bridge, went to give a visit to the King. They entertained one another a long time in two or three Conferences; in which our *Henry* gave great marks of his Capacity and Judgement. Their Resolution in sum, was to raise a puissant Army to assault *Paris*, which was the principal head of the *Hydra*, and gave motion to all the rest: a thing easie for them to do, because the King expected great Levies from towards the *Switzers*, whither he had sent *Sancy* for that purpose; adding, that the designe of the siege being published, it would infallibly draw a great number of Souldiers and Adventurers, out of hopes of so rich a pillage.

They resolve to besiege *Paris*.

The two Kings having passed two days together, he of *Navarre* went to *Chinon*, to cause the rest of his Troops to advance, who hitherto had refused to mingle themselves among the Catholicks.

Duke of *Mayenne* wants little to surprize King *Hen.* 3 at *Tours*.

During his absence, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had taken the Field, fell upon the Suburbs of *Tours*, thinking to surprize the City, and the King within it, by means of some intelligence. The Combat was very bloody, and the Dukes designe wanted little of taking effect; but after the first endeavours, having lost the hopes to compass it, he easily retired.

Afterwards the Kings Troops being wonderfully increased, they marched conjoyntly, he and the King of *Navarre* towards *Orleans*; took all the little places thereabouts, and from thence descended into *Beauce*, and drew to-

together all of a ſuddain towards *Paris*. All the Poſts round about it, as *Poiſſy*, *Eſtampes*, and *Meulan*, were either forced, or obtained Capitulation: "in which they deſired no o-"ther ſecurity then the word of the King of "*Navarre*; to which they truſted more then "to all the Writings of *Hen.* 3. So great a "profeſſion made he of keeping his word, even "to the prejudice of his intereſts. Part I.

Let us conſider a little the different Eſtate to which theſe two Kings were reduced by their different conduct. "The One, for ha-"ving often broken his Faith, was abandoned "by his Subjects, and his greateſt Oaths found "no belief amongſt them: and the Other, for "having always exactly kept it, was followed "even by his greateſt Enemies: in all occaſi-"ons he gave marks of his Valour and Experi-"ence in point of War; but above all, of his "Prudence, and of thoſe Noble Inclinations "he had to good, and to oblige all the world. "He was always ſeen in the moſt dangerous "places, to accelerate Labours, animate his "Souldiers, ſuſtain them in Sallies, comfort "the wounded, and cauſe Money to be diſtri-"buted amongſt them. He obſerved all, in-"quired into all, and would himſelf with the "Marſhal of the Camp, order the Lodgings "of his Souldiers. He obſerved ſtrictly what "was done in the Army of *Henry* 3. where "though he often found faults, he concealed "them, out of fear to offend thoſe who had "committed them, by diſcovering their igno-

Great and profitable Reflections made on the different Conducts of *Hen.* 3. and the King of *Navarre*.

Part I. "rance: and when he believed himself obli-
"to take notice of them, he did it with so
"much Circumspection, that they could not
"finde any reason to take it in ill part. He
"was never niggardly of giving praises due to
"Noble Actions, nor of Caresses and gene-
"rous Deport to those came near him: he en-
"tertained himself with them when he had
"time to do it; or at least so obliged them
"with some good word, that they still went
"away satisfied. He feared not at all to make
"himself familiar, because he was assured that
"the more men knew him, the more they
"would esteem him. In fine, the conduct of
"this Prince was such, that there was no heart
"he gained not, nor no friend he had who
"would not willingly have become his Mar-
"tyr.

Paris besieged. *Paris* was already besieged; the King lodged at St. *Clou*, and our *Henry* at *Meudon*, keeping with his Troops all that is between *Vanvres* to the Bridge of *Charenton*. *Sancy* was already arrived with his Levies of *Suisses*; and they laboured with Orders to give a general Assault, to the end they might gain the Suburbs beneath the River. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who was in the City with his Troops expecting those Supplies the Duke of *Nemours* was to bring, was in great apprehensions that he should not be able to sustain the furious shock was preparing; when a young *Jacobin* of the Convent of *Paris*, named *James Clement*, spurred on by a Resolution as devilish and detestable

King *Hen.* 3. killed by a *Jacobin*.

teſtable as it was determinate, ſmote King *Henry* the third with a blow of a knife in the Belly; of which he died the morrow after. If the frantick Monk had not been ſlain upon the place by the Kings Guards, many things might have been known, which are now concealed. Part I.

Our *Henry* being advertized late in the Evening of this mournful Accident, and of the danger in which the King was, came to his Lodging, accompanied onely by five and twenty or thirty Gentlemen; and being arrived a little before he expired, he fell on his knees to kiſs his hands, and received his laſt Embraces. The King named him many times his Good Brother, and Legitimate Succeſſour; recommended the Kingdome to him; exhorted the Lords there preſent to acknowledge him, and not to diſunite. In fine, after having conjured him to embrace the Catholick Religion, he gave up the Ghoſt; leaving all his Army in an aſtoniſhment and confuſion which cannot be expreſſed, and all the Chiefs and Captains in Irreſolutions and different Agitations, according to their Humours, Fancies or Intereſts.

Our *Henry* comes to viſit him dying.

What the King ſaid to him, and thoſe preſent.

The Second Part OF THE LIFE OF *Henry* the *Great*.

Containing what he did, from the day he came to the Crown of *France*, until the Peace which was made in the year 1598. by the Treaty at *Vervin*.

1589 Change cauſed by the Death of *Hen.* 3.

THE Death of *Henry* the third cauſed an entire change in the face of affairs. *Paris*, the *League*, and the Duke of *Mayenne*, were tranſported from a profound Sadneſs, to a furious Joy; and the Servants of the Defunct King, from a Pregnant Hope to ſee him Revenged, to an extreme Deſolation.

This Prince, who had been the object of the peoples hatred, being now no more, it ſeemed that that hatred ſhould ceaſe, and by conſe-

conſequence the heat of the League relent: but on the contrary, not only all thoſe who compoſed that faction, but likewiſe many others who had held it for a Crime to League themſelves againſt *Henry* the third, their *Catholick* and Legitimate King, believed themſelves in Conſcience Obliged to oppoſe themſelves againſt our *Henry*, at leaſt till ſuch time as he ſhould return into the boſome of the true Church: a qualification they believed abſolutely neceſſary for that him ſhould ſucceed *Charlemagne* or *S. Lewis.* So that if the League loſt that heat which hatred gave it, it gained one much more ſpecious, from a zeal to Religion; and had likewiſe a moſt plauſible pretext not to lay down Arms till *Henry* ſhould Profeſs the Religion of his Anceſtors. Part II.

Problem, if *Hen.* 3. died in a time favourable to *Hen.* 4. or not.

It was very difficult to judge, whether the point of time wherein this unhappy Parricide arrived, were good or ill for him: for on one ſide it ſeemed that Providence had not drawn him from the utmoſt parts of the Kingdom, where he was like a baniſhed man, and led him by the hand to the faireſt Theatre in *France*, but only to make known his goodneſs and virtue, and put him in an Eſtate to gain that Succeſſion, to which, had he been abſent, he had never been called. But on the other ſide, when the multitude of his Puiſſant enemies, which armed themſelves againſt him, are conſidered, the ſmall Treaſure, and few Forces he had, the Obſtacle of his Religion, and

Part II. and a thousand other difficulties, it could not be certainly judged, whether the Crown was ordained for him to enjoy, or fallen upon his head to crush him in Pieces: and there might be reason to say, that if this Conjuncture Elevated him, it was upon a Throne trembling, and erected on the brink of Precipices.

Henry 4. holds many Councels.

Whilst *Henry* the third was in his Agony, our *Henry* held many Tumultuary Councels in the same lodgings, with those whom he Esteemed his most faithful Servants. So soon as he understood he was expired, he retired to his quarter at *Meudon*, and attired himself in the mourning Purple: he was presently followed by a great quantity of Noblemen, who accompanied him as well for Curiosity as affection. The *Hugonots* with those Troops which he had led, presently swore Allegiance to him: but this number was very small. Some of the Catholicks, as the Marshal *d'Aumont*, *Givry*, and *Humieres*, swore Service to him until death, and that willingly, without desiring any Condition of him; but the greatest part of the others, being either estranged by inclination, or exasperated by some discontent, or else believing now to have found the time to make their Services be bought, kept at a greater distance, and held several little Assemblies in divers places, where they formed a number of Fantastick designs.

Some Catholicks acknowledge him, but most refuse.

Some design to make

Each of these proposed to make themselves

ſelves Sovereigns of ſome City, or ſome Province, as the Governours had done in the decadence of the houſe of *Charlemagne*. The Marſhal of *Byron* among others, would have had the County of *Perigord*; and *Sancy*, not to reject him, ſpoke to the King. This Propoſition was very dangerous: for if he denied it, he incenſed him; and if he accorded to his demand, he opened the way to all others to make the like, and ſo the Kingdome would be rent in Peices. It was only his great ſpirit and underſtanding, which could walk ſafely in ſo dangerous a path: he therefore charged *Sancy* to aſſure him on his part of his affection, of which he would willingly in time and place give him all the markes a good Subject could expect from his Sovereign; but at the ſame time, he furniſhed him with ſo many puiſſant reaſons wherefore he could not accord to what he deſired, that *Sancy* being himſelf firſt perſwaded, found it not difficult to work the ſame effect on the ſpirit of *Byron*; whom he obliged not only to renounce that pretence, but likewiſe to proteſt that he would never ſuffer any peice of the Eſtate to be diſmembred, in favour of whomſoever.

Part II. themſelves Sovereigns

The Marſhal of Byron among others; but the King made him forgo his deſire.

We may without doubt conclude, that the great *Henry* did reaſon puiſſantly; and that he explained his reaſons in the beſt manner, ſince he could in occaſions ſo important, perſwade ſuch able Spirits againſt their proper intereſts.

Byron

Part II.

Byron and *Sancy* assure the Catholick *Suiſſs* to the Kings Service.

Byron being thus gained, went with *Sancy* to assure themselves of those *Suiſſes* which *Sancy* had brought to the deceased King, but who being of the *Catholick Cantons*, made some difficulty to bear Arms for a *Hugonot* Prince, and that without new order from their Superiour. As for the *French* Troops of the Defunct King, it was not so easie to gain them. The Lords who Commanded them, or who had their Chiefs under their dependance, had every one divers designs; one would have one thing, and the other another, according to their several interests or Caprichio's.

What was the disposition of the Princes of the blood towards the King.

There were six Princes of the house of *Bourbon*, to wit, the old Cardinal of *Vendosme*, the Count of *Soiſſons*, the Prince of *Conti*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Prince of *Dombes* his Son; which in stead of being his firmest Prop, gave him no little inquietude; because there was none of them which had not his particular pretence; which proved to him a continual Obstacle.

Many Lords in Camp and Court ill intended.

Many of the Lords which were in the Army were not very well intentionated, particularly *Henry* Grand Prior of *France*, Natural Son to *Charles* the ninth, (after Count of *Auvergne* and Duke of *Angouleſme*) the Duke of *Espernon*, and *Termes Belle-garde*; who out of the fear they had formerly had, lest he should deprive them of the favour of their Master, had opposed him in divers Rencounters. For the Courtiers, as *Francis d' O*,

an

and *Manou* his brother, *Old-Caſtle* and many others, they knowing that our *Henry* deteſted their Villanous Debaucheries, and that he would not prove a perſon of ſo ill management, as to laviſh out his Revenues to ſupply their Luxury, had no great inclination for him. Nevertheleſs, hoping to find things better, they reſolved to declare in his favour; but with ſuch Conditions as ſhould reſtrain and bridle him, and in ſome manner oblige him to depend on them. Part II.

For this purpoſe there met an Aſſembly of ſome Noblemen, at *d'O's* Palace (a man Voluptuous, Prodigal, and by conſequence not very ſcrupulous; but who at preſent made Conſcience a Cloak to render himſelf neceſſary) who there reſolved not to acknowledge him, till he were a Catholick. *Francis d'O* accompanied with ſome Noblemen, had the confidence to carry to the King the Reſolutions of this Aſſembly; and added a ſtudied diſcourſe, to perſwade him to return to the Catholick Religion: but the King, who had already paſt over his greateſt fears, made them an anſwer ſo mixt with ſweetneſs and gravity, with ſpirit and reſervedneſs, that Couragiouſly repulſing them, without too ſeverely taunting them, he teſtified to them that he deſired to conſerve them his, but that after all, he feared not much the loſs of them.

Aſſembly of Noblemen at *d'O's*, who would have the King converted.

d'O carrys him word of it.

The King anſwers them handſomely and couragiouſly.

Some time after, the Nobility, after divers little Aſſemblies, held a great one, with *Francis de Luxembourg* Duke of *Piney*. There many

Another greater Aſſembly reſolved to acknow-

Part II.

ledge him, provided he will permit himself to be instructed.

many Propositions being made, at last the Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Piney* subtilly Managed the Spirits, and Steered the Opinions of the most importunate to this Resolution, That they would acknowledge *Henry* for King, upon these Conditions; 1. Provided that he would cause himself to be instructed; for they presupposed conversion must necessarily follow instruction. 2. That he should not permit the exercise of any but the *Catholick* Religion. 3. That he should neither give charge nor employment to the *Hugonots*. 4. That he should permit the Assembly to depute Agents to the Pope, to let him understand and agree to the Causes which Obliged the Nobility to remain in the Service of a Prince separated from the *Romane* Church.

The Duke of *Piney* carries their resolution to the King; who agrees to it;

The King had the knowledge of this Resolution, from the Duke of *Piney*: he thanked them for their zeal for the Conservation of the Estate, and the affection they had for his person; promising them, that he would sooner lose his life, then the remembrance of those good services they had rendred him; and granting them easily all the points they demanded, only the second: In stead of which, he promised them to re-establish the exercise of the *Catholick* Religion through all his Territories, and to remit the *Ecclesiasticks* into the possession of their Estates: and of this he caused a Declaration to be ingrossed, which after all the Lords and Gentlemen of Note had

and grants a Declaration touching the exercise of the Catholick Religion through all his Territories.

had ſigned; he ſent to be confirmed, by that part of the Parliament which was at *Tours*. Part II.

There were many who ſigned it with ſome regret, and others who abſolutely refuſed it; among whom were the Duke of *Eſpernon*, and *Lewis d' Hoſpital Vitry*. This laſt, diſturbed as it was ſaid by a ſcruple of Conſcience, caſt himſelf into *Paris*, and gave himſelf for ſome time to the League; but firſt of all, he abandoned the Government of *Dourdan*, which the Defunct King had given him. "Such were "then the Maxims of perſons of true honour "in the Civil Wars, that in quitting one par-"ty, which ever it was, they quitted like-"wiſe thoſe places they held, and returned "them to thoſe had conferred them. Many ſign it with regret, and others refuſe, as *Vitry*, who becomes a Leaguer.

The Duke *d' Eſpernon* proteſting, that he would never be either *Spaniard* or *Leaguer*, but that his Conſcience would not permit him to ſtay with the King, demanded leave of him to retire to his Government. The King after having in vain endeavoured to retain him, gave him leave, with many Carreſſes and prayſes: but ſo much was he in his heart troubled at his abandoning him, that it hath been believed he conſerved againſt him a ſecret reſentment ſo long as he lived. And the Duke of *Eſpernon*, who retires.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not a little troubled in *Paris*, what reſolution he ſhould take: he ſaw that all the *Pariſians*, even thoſe who had held of the party of the Defunct King, had fully reſolved to provide for the ſecurity of Religion: But that however they The Duke of *Mayenne* troubled what party to take.

Part II. would all have a King, contrary to some of the *Sixteen*, who imagined they might form a Republick, and turn *France* into *Cantons*, like to the *Suisses*; but those were neither sufficiently powerful in Number, Riches, or Capacity, to Conduct such a design. So that the most part of his friends counselled him to take the title of King: but when he went about to sound this Gulfe, he found that this proposition was neither agreeable to the people, nor yet to the King of *Spain*, from whom he received, and was to receive his Principal stay, and means of Subsistence.

Two Counsels given him.

Hereupon two other Counsels were given him: the one, to accord willingly with the new King, who without doubt in the conjuncture wherein things were, would grant him most advantagious conditions: The other, that he should by Declaration publish to the Catholicks of the Royal Army, that all resentments remaining Extinct by the Death of *Henry* the third, he had no other interest then that of Religion: That that point being of Divine obligation, and regarding all good Christians; he summoned and conjured them to joyn with him, to exhort the King of *Navarre* to return to the Church; upon which, they promised to acknowledge him immediately for King: but if that he refused to do it, they protested to Substitute in his place another Prince of the blood. This advice was the best. And indeed it was proposed by *Jeannin* President of the Parlia-

Parliament of *Burgongne*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt Politick heads of his Councel, and who acted in his affairs without Sleights or Stratagems; but with great judgement, and ſingular Honeſty. Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* equally rejected both theſe advices; and took a third, to wit, the cauſing the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* (who was at preſent detained priſoner by order of our *Henry*,) to be proclaimed King; ſtill reſerving to himſelf the quality of Lieutenant-General of the Crown. He publiſhed after ſeveral Declarations, one of which he ſent to the Parliament, the other to the Provinces and the Nobility, inviting them to endeavour to deliver their King, and defend their Religion. He rejects them, and cauſes to be Proclaimed the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

At the ſame time the King tried by divers Negotiations, and cauſed him to be exhorted rather to ſeek his advancement by his friendſhip, then by the troubles and miſeries of *France*. But to this the Duke anſwered, that he had engaged his Father in the Publick cauſe, and given Oath to King *Charles* the tenth, (for ſo they called the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was named *Charles*) to whom, according to the ſentiment of the League, the Crown appertained, as to the neareſt Kinſman of the Defunct. And in the mean time, he entertained Plots and Conſpiracies in the Royal Army; where his emiſſaries from day to day debauched many perſons, even of thoſe whom the King believed moſt aſſured. There were many Generous enough The King tries in vain ſeveral Treaties with the Duke.

Part II. to resist the temptations of Silver: but nothing was proof against the intrigues of the Ladies of *Paris*, who cunningly attracted the Gentlemen and the Officers in the City, sparing nothing to engage them.

The King knowing that there daily remained some catch'd in these snares, and having just reason to fear that those which returned, tempted by their Mistresses, might bring back some pernitious designs; and the Duke of *Nemours* being upon the advance with his Troops, to joyne with the Duke of *Mayenne*; the Duke of *Lorrain* being likewise to send his; having cause to doubt his retreat might be cut off on all sides, found it convenient to discamp from before *Paris*.

He raises his League from *Paris*, and why.

But before he dislodged, he writ to the Protestant Princes, to give them an account of what he did, and to assure them that nothing should be capable to shake his Constancy, or separate him from Christ: and he spoke at present according to his thoughts and Conscience, not having any desire to change: which yet the Ministers of his Religion would not believe, but watched him so close on this Subject, that they became importunate.

He writes to the Protestant Princes, to justifie himself.

His troubles for 4. years to content both Catholicks & *Hugonots*.

It was certainly an unspeakable trouble, which continually for three or four years he was forced to undergo; to hear on one side the exhortations of those people, and on the other, the most instant Remonstrances of the *Catholicks*: for it was necessary he

should

should allay the distrust of the first, and entertain the second with continual hopes of making himself be instructed. How much prudence had he need of? how much patience? with how much judgement and policy must he manage such great differences? Certainly he could not do it without imploying all the powers of his Spirit and experience. Part II.

"And he well knew how far it was necessary "for a Prince to have his Spirit happily exercised, and to be well instructed how "to Negotiate, and Speak well, to be able "at his necessity to serve himself of his talent. Without falsity he might well at "present praise those, who having had the "care of bringing him up, had formed him "in his youth to the Management of affairs, "to Treating with men, and to the gaining the affections of all the world. He had need of infinite prudence, address, & eloquence.

Those last devoirs he delired to render his Predecessor, served as a fair pretext for raising his Siege from before *Paris*. To put his body in a place where the resentment of the Duke of *Guises* creatures might not outrage it, he carried it to *Compeigne*, and laid it in the Abbey of *S. Cornille*, where he celebrated all the funebrous Ceremonies, as honourably as the confusion of the time would permit. Not able to assist himself, because of his Religion, he committed the care to *Bellegarde* and *Espernon*; the last of which accompanied him thither, and then retired into *Angoumois*. He carries the Corps of *Henry* the third to *S. cornille de compeigne*.

Part II.

Three advices touching the place to which he should retire.

There were three advices given, concerning the place to which he ought to retire, when he raised his siege from *Paris*. The first was, to repass the *Loire*, and abandon to the League all the Provinces on this side it; because he could difficultly maintain them. The second, to re-advance along the *Marne*, and seizing those Bridges and Cities, expect an assistance from the Protestant *Suisses* and *Germans* promised to come to him. And the third, to march down into *Normandy*, to assure himself of some Cities, whose Governours were not yet engaged in the League; to gather the mony received for Taxes; and to joyne with the Assistance of *England*, which Queen *Elizabeth* had promised him, and which could not be long absent.

1590. He follows the last, which was to march into *Normandy*.

He concluded on the last of these advices: and so many of the Nobles who accompanied him, desiring some time to go and refresh themselves, he gave them leave. He sent a part of his Troops into *Picardie*, under the Conduct of the Duke of *Longueville*; another into *Campaine*, under that of Marshal *d' Aumont*; and with three thousand *French* foot, two Regiments of *Suisses*, and twelve hundred horse only, which he kept with him, he descended into *Normandy*.

Rolet brings him the Keyes of *Pont d' Arche*; and *Chattes* of *Dieppe*.

The Duke of *Montpensier*, who was Governour there, came to joyne him with two hundred Gentlemen, and fifteen hundred Foot. *Rolet* Governour of *Pont d' Arche*, a man of Courage and Spirit, brought him the

the Keys of that place, demanding no other recompence but the honour to serve him. *Emer de Chatter*, a Commandadore of *Malta*, did the same with those of *Diepe*. After which, the King approached *Rouen*, where he believed to have some intelligence. Part II.

This Enterprize put him in extream danger; but in revenge, gave him a fair occasion to acquist Glory, in retiring himself from so great a peril. See how it passed!

He would besiege *Rouen*: but the Duke of *Mayenne* coming to its succour, drives him to *Diepe*, and invests him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* came to the succour of *Rouen* with all his forces, and passed the Rivers at *Vernon*. The King much astonished, retires to *Diepe*, and sends to the Duke of *Longueville* and *d' Aumont*, to return to him with diligence with their forces. The Duke in the mean time takes all the little places about *Diepe*, to environ and invest himself within. In effect, he shuts him up so close, that if he had not amused himself by an untimely motion to go to *Bins* in *Hainault* to confer with the Duke of *Parma*, he had in that disorder dissipated the greatest part of his little Army. He had already caused a report to be spread through *France*; and had writ with assurance to all strange Princes, That he held the King of *Navarre* (so he called him) shut up in a little corner, from whence he could not get, but either by yeilding himself to him, or leaping into the Sea. The danger appeared so eminent, even to his most faithful ser-

The Duke reports he cannot escape him.

Part II.

The Parliament at *Tours* counsel him to associate the Cardinal of *Bourbon* in the Royalty.

vants, that the Parliament at *Tours* sent expressly to him a Master of Requests; proposing as the onely expedient they saw to save the Estate, the associating him and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his Uncle in the Royalty; giving to One the conduct of Civil Affairs, and the Other of Martial. There were likewise the greatest part of the Captains of his Army of opinion, that leaving his Forces on shore, well intrenched in their posts, he should as soon as possible embarque for *England* or for *Rochel*, for fear lest if he should longer delay it, he might be shut up by Sea as well as by Land. To the Proposition of the Parliament, he made answer, That he had taken such good order, that the intrigues of the Duke of *Mayenne* could not deliver the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, as they apprehended; and the Marshal of *Byron* so stoutly opposed those who counselled him to embarque, that they desisted.

Others counsel him to retire to *England*.

He derides both one and t'other

The Duke of *Mayenne* besieges *Diepe*.

It appeared soon after by the proof, that the Forces of the League, which were thrice as great as his, were not to be feared in proportion to their number; and that the more Commanders they had, the less their power was to be doubted. The King was lodged at the Castle *d'Arques*, which is seated on a little Hill, to stop the passage of the Valley which goes to *Diepe*. The Duke had formed a Designe to take this Post by Sea, by four or five Repriſes; and on divers days he essayed to assault the Suburbs of *Polet*, and four or five times was driven back. Our *Henry* dayly doing

Battail of *Arques*.

doing wonders, and expoſing himſelf ſo much, that once he thought he ſhould have been ſurprized and encompaſſed by his Enemies. In fine, the Duke, having loſt eleven days time, and a thouſand or twelve hundred men, raiſed the Siege, and retired into *Picardy*. Part II.

The Duke raiſes the ſiege, retires, goes into *Picardy*, and why.

It was believed, that he paſſed into this Province upon a fear, leſt the *Picards*, a free and honeſt people, but very ſimple, ſhould permit themſelves to be ſurprized by the Artifices of the Agents of *Spain*, who would engage them to caſt themſelves under the protection of the King their Maſter.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that that which hindred the ſucceſs of his enterprize at *Diepe*, and which kept him two or three days without enterprizing any thing at the time he ought to have done it, was the jealouſie and contentions between the Chiefs that accompanied him; particularly of the Marqueſs *du Pont-à-Mouſſon*, Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*; of the Duke of *Nemours*, and of Cavalier *d'Anmale*: for they, believing the taking of the King infallible, or at leaſt his flight aſſured, and diſpoſing already of the Kingdome as of their Conqueſt, regarded one another with an Eye of jealouſie, and each formed deſignes in his head to have the better part of it.

What hindred the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

It was obſerved likewiſe, that in one of theſe Combats of *Diepe*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having at preſent ſome advantage, had gained an entire Victory if he had advanced but a quarter of an hour quicker: but marching too ſlowly,

He knew not how to take his advantages.

Part II. slowly, he let slip that opportunity he could never redeem: which made the King, who well observed his fault, say, *If he all not in another manner, I shall be assured always to gain the Field.*

Three causes for which the great body of the League prospered not in their designes.

I have recounted these Particularities, because they make known the defaults of that great Body of the League: and the true causes which hindred its progress, and reduced it to nothing, I finde three principal ones.

The distrust between the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Mayenne.*

The first, was the distrust which the Duke of *Mayenne* had of the *Spaniards*: for though he could not be without them, yet he could not but regard them as his secret Enemies; and they assisted him not for love of himself, but out of the designe they had to profit themselves out of the calamities of *France.* And therefore when they saw that he concurred not with them for their ends, and that he thought onely of his own advantage without theirs, they afforded him but feeble succour; in such manner, that they let him fall so low, that when they would themselves have done it, they could not raise him.

The jealousie among the Chiefs of the League

The second, was the jealousie of the Chiefs, who never agreed among themselves. They thought more of crossing and ruining one another, then of weakning their common Enemy; and confounded themselves in such manner by their delusions and partialities, that they were ever wanting in the greatest Enterprizes: whereas in the party of the King, there was

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onely one Chief, to whom all was reported, and by whoſe Orders all paſſed. Part II.

The third, was the heavineſs and dulneſs of the Duke of *Mayenne*, who at all times moved ſlowly. His Flatterers called this Gravity. This default proceeded principally from his nature; and was augmented not onely by the maſs of his Body, great and fat beyond all proportion, and which by conſequence required a great deal of nouriſhment, and much ſleep; but likewiſe from a coldneſs and numneſs, which a certain malady he had contracted at *Paris* a little after the death of *Henry* the third, had reduced to a habitude in his Body; of which, ſay ſome, he would very unhandſomely rejoyce. The ſloth and negligence of the Duke of *Mayenne*

King *Henry* the fourth was not of the ſame temper: for though he very much loved feaſting, and to divert himſelf with his familiars when he had leiſure; nevertheleſs when he had Affairs of War, or any other nature, he never ſate at Table above a quarter of an hour, and never ſlept above two or three hours together: ſo that Pope *Sixtus* the fifth being well informed of his manner of living, and that of the Duke of *Mayenne*, confidently prognoſticated, "That the *Bearnois*, (for ſo he called "him, as all the Leaguers did) could not fail "to have the better of it, ſince he lay no "longer time abed then the Duke of *Mayenne* "ſate at Table. Great activity and vigilance of *Henry* 4.

"Officers and Servants form themſelves after the example of their Maſters: thoſe of "the Officers & ſervants reſemble their maſters.

Part II.

"the King were ready, chearful, vigilant; who "executed his Commands so soon as they "came out of his mouth; who took care of "all, and gave him advice of all. On the con- "trary, those of the Duke were slow, neg- "ligent, idle; and who, upon whatever "pressing occasion, would not loose any thing "of their Ease and Divertisements.

It seemed to me that, for the better understanding our History, it was necessary to observe these Circumstances, which are absolutely essential, and very instructive.

This History recounts onely the chief affairs

We have particularized about the end of our first Part, who were the Chiefs of the League, and how that they held all the best Cities and richest Provinces of the Realm. I should never end, should I recount all the Factions, Fights, Enterprizes and Changes which happened in every Province for five or six years time. We shall follow onely the gross of Affairs, and behold how the Providence of God, and the incomparable Vertue of our *Henry*, drew *France* out of its Labyrinth of Miseries, in such manner, that the Estate and Religion which should have been destroyed by an irrecoverable War, were both the one and the other miraculously saved, and re-flourished with as much happiness and glory as ever.

The *Parisians* made believe the King was taken.

Though the Duke of *Mayenne* was retired from before *Diepe*, yet the people were entirely perswaded that the King could not escape him; particularly the *Parisians*, whom the

the Dutchess of *Montpensier* made believe by Part II.
Courriers on purpose, which she caused to arrive from day to day, Now that he demanded to yeild himself, Now that he was taken; and in fine, that he was conducting to *Paris*: insomuch that there were many Ladies who hired windows in the street of St. *Denis* to see him pass by.

They are much astonished to understand him marching towards them.

Whilst they amused themselves with these false Reports, they were much astonished to understand, that having received a Re-inforcement of four thousand English, he was now upon his march, and came directly to *Paris*. He had some Intelligences which promised him, that if he could gain the Suburbs, they would open him a way into the City. He assaulted therefore those of St. *Germain*, St. *Michael*, St. *James*, St. *Marceau*, and St. *Victor*, and carried them at unawares; but he could not gain the Quarter of the University, as he hoped, because his Cannon was not brought in time. About eight a Clock in the morning, on *All-Saints-day*, he entred the Suburbs of St. *James*, where he found the people to have no aversion for him: for he saw them not affrighted, nor despairingly fleeing; but looking out of their windows to regard him, and crying, *Vive le Roy*. And he used his advantage with a great Moderation; he forbad all sorts of Violences or Plunders, and gave order that Divine Service should be continued in such manner, that his people peaceably assisted at it with the Burgesses, whilst he having mounted

He takes the Fauxbourgs of St. *Germain*, &c.

His moderation in this rencounter.

Part II. mounted the Steeple of St. *Germain*, attentively considered what was done in the City.

The Dukes of *Nemours* & *Mayenne* post thither The King retires to *Montlehery*.

That Evening the Duke of *Nemours* having posted thither with the Cavalry, and the Duke of *Mayenne* following on the morrow after with his Infantry, the King retired to *Montlehery*; but before-hand he drew up his Army in Battalia in the sight of *Paris*, and kept them four hours at their Arms, to make known to the *Parisians* the weakness of their Chiefs.

He takes *Estampes*, *Vendosme*, *le Mans*, & *Alenzon*.

After this, *Estampes*, *Vendosme*, *le Mans*, and *Alenzon*, not able to sustain his presence and Arms, surrendred to him: and in the manner things went, and as the Chiefs of the League defended themselves, he had without doubt re-conquered the whole Realm in less then fifteen months, if he had not wanted money: this onely default, retarded the course of his Prosperities. The Ransoms imposed on Cities reduced by force, all that he could borrow, and the money he could raise by Taxes, did not half suffice to keep his Troops in a Body. For this reason he was constrained for four or five years space, to make War in an extraordinary manner. When his Troops had served some months, and consumed beside their pay all they had foraged in their Quarters, he sent them home, as well to refresh them, as to preserve their Country from the invasions of the League. In like manner, when the voluntier-Gentlemen had spent that money they brought from other

Want of mony stops his progress.

In what manner he made his Troops subsist.

other houſes, he gave them leave to return, to endeavour to furniſh themſelves for another voyage; inviting them by his Example, to retrench the ſuperfluous expence of Cloths and Equipage; & otherwiſe treating them with ſo much Civility and Courteſie, that he never wanted them in the moſt preſſing occaſions; for they returned the ſooneſt poſſible, ſerving him, if we may ſo ſay, each his Quarter. Part II.

He reduces almoſt all *Normandy*, and beſiegeth *Dreux*.

In the mean time, he fell all of a ſuddain upon *Normandy*, and almoſt wholly reduced it; took the Cities of *Dompfort*, *Falaiſe*, *Liſieux*, *Bayeux*, *Honfleur*; this laſt by a very bloody Siege: after his return from thence, he took likewiſe *Meulan* on the *Seine*, ſeven leagues off *Paris*, and laid Siege before *Dreux*.

At the noiſe of theſe Conqueſts, the Duke of *Mayenne* was obliged in reputation, to come forth of *Paris*, to aſſemble his Troops, and to receive, contrary to his inclination, fifteen hundred Lanciers, and five hundred Carabines, from the Duke of *Parma* Governour of the Low-Countries: theſe forces were Commanded by the Count *d' Egmont*.

The Duke marches to ſuccour *Dreux*.

After this Duke had regained ſeveral little places which incommodated *Paris* and the Country adjacent, he paſſed the *Seine* o'er the Bridges of *Mantes*, to go ſuccour *Dreux*; imagining he might do it without hazarding any thing. The King, ſo ſoon as he had advice of his advance, raiſes his ſiege, but with an intent to fight him; and came to this effect

The King advances to fight him.

to

Part II. to lodge at *Novanecourt*, on the passage of the River of *Eure*.

Two reasons oblige him to it.

Two things principally obliged him to that resolution of giving him battail: the one, because wanting money, he could not long keep his Troops in the body of an Army; and had he led them into *Normandy*, he should unprofitably have spent all the revenue of that Province, which alone he valued above all others he held. The other, because he perceived so great a rejoycing throughout all his Army, who seemed to leap for joy, when they were told they should go to find out their enemy; demonstrating by their outward appearances, that a day of fighting should be unto them as a day of feasting.

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not of opinion that he ought to engage his fortune and honour to the hazard of one day, especially considering the valour of the Kings forces, in comparison of his; the great experience, and incomparable vertue of that Prince: and with all this, his great fortune, which had already gained so great an ascendant over his, that he believed he could no better overcome him, then by avoyding encounters with him. But the reproaches of the *Parisians*, the instances of the Legat, which the Pope had sent to support the interests of the League; the *Spanish Cabal*, which on which side soever fortune turned it self, promised themselves great advantages from this battail; and in fine, the shame to have lost more then forty

What causes engage the Duke of *Mayenne* to the Battail.

places

places in six months, without having endeavoured to succour any of them; led him as it were perforce to the relief of *Dreux*: and when he was so near it, the false advice he had, that the King retired towards the City of *Verneuil au Perche*, and the Bravadoes of the Count of *Egmont*, who boasted himself capable with his Troops alone to defeat the Army of the King, engaged him with an extraordinary diligence to pass the River of *Eure*, over the Bridge of *Yvry*. Part II.

To speak truth, both the King and he were equally surprised: the King, to understand that he had so soon passed; and the Duke, to see that the King, whom he believed to have taken the way towards *Verneuil*, came directly towards him: but now though they would, they could neither withdraw; but of force must come to a battail, which happened on the fourteenth of *March*, neer the *Bourg* of *Yvry*. Battail of *Yvry*, *March* 14.

The Histories do at large declare the description of the field of the battail; the order of both Armies, the Charges which the Battalions and Squadrons both on the one and the other side made, and the faults of the Chiefs of the League: We shall therefore speak nothing, but what concerns the person of our Prince.

His rare intelligence, his wonderful genius, and his indefatigable activity in the Mystery of War, were all admired. It was wondred how he knew how to give orders without Wonderful intelligence of *Henry* the fourth.

Part II. perplexing his intellectuals, but with as little Confusion as if he had been in his Closet; how he could know so perfectly to range his Troops; and how, having observed the enemies design, he could in a quarter of an hour change the whole order of his Army: How during the fight, he could be every where, take notice of every thing, and himself give orders, as if he had had a hundred eyes, and as many armes: The noise, confusion, dust and smoak, augmenting rather then troubling his judgement and knowledge.

His prayers to God.

The Armies being ready to joyn, he lifted up his eyes to heaven; and joyning his hands, called God to witness of his intention, invoking his assistance, and praying that he would reduce the Rebels to an acknowledgement of him whom the order of Succession had given them for Legitimate Sovereign: *But Lord*, said he, *if it pleaseth thee to dispose otherwise, or that I should be of the number of those Kings whom thou dedicatest to thy anger, deprive me of my life with my Crown; consent that I may this day fall a victim to thy holy will: let my death deliver* France *from the Calamities of War, and my blood be the last that shall be shed in this quarrel.*

His exhortation to his Souldiers.

Immediately after, he caused to be given him his Habiliment for his head, on the top of which he had a plume of three white feathers; and having put it on, before he pulled down his Viziere, he told his Squadrons, *My Companions, if you this day run my fortune,*

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I ſhall likewiſe run yours: I will overcome, or dye with you: let me only conjure you to keep your rankes; and if the heat of the Combat make you quit them, think as ſoon of rallying; it will be the gain of the Battail: you may do it between thoſe three trees which you ſee there on high, on your right hand (they were three Pear-trees) *and if you loſe your Enſigns, Cornets, or Banners, loſe not the ſight of my white Feather, which you ſhall always find in the Road to Honor and Victory.* Part II.

The Deciſion of the Battail having been a long time uncertain, was in the end favourable to him. The Principal glory being due to himſelf alone, ſo much the more, becauſe he Charged moſt impetuouſly on that formidable body commanded by the Count of *Egmont*; and that having entred that foreſt of Lances with his ſword in his hand, rendred them uſeleſs, and conſtrained them to come to their ſhort Arms; at which his had a great advantage, becauſe the *French* are more agile and active then the *Flemings*: ſo that in leſs then a quarter of an hour, he pierced them, diſſipated them, and put them to rout; the cauſe of the entire gain of the Battail. The battail won by the King.

Of ſixteen thouſand men which the Duke had, there were ſcarce four thouſand ſaved. There remained above a thouſand horſe on the place with the Count of *Egmont*, four hundred priſoners of Note, and all the Infantry; for the Lanſquenets were all cut in pieces. Great loſs of the Leaguers.

Part II. They took all his Baggage, Cannon, Enſigns and Cornets; to wit, twenty Cornets of Cavalry, the white Cornet of the Duke, the Colonel of his *Reiſtres* or *German* horſe, the great Standard of Count *Egmont*, and ſixty Colours of foot.

The Duke of *Mayenne* eſcapes to *Mantes*, and thence to *Paris*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* behaved himſelf as valiantly as he ought, and many times endeavoured to make ſome rally; but in the end, for fear of being encompaſſed, he retired toward the Bridge of *Yvry*; and having paſſed it, cauſed it to be broken down, to ſtop thoſe purſued him; and ſo eſcaped to *Mantes*, and thence to *S. Denis*, and after to *Paris*. A part of the flyers took the ſame way with him, others took that of the Plain, and gained the City of *Chartres*.

The King too much expoſes his perſon, which *Byron* freely remonſtrates to him.

The King having engaged himſelf, during the defeat, among a Squadron of *Waloons*, was in great danger of his perſon; ſo that his Army for ſome time believed him dead: upon which the Marſhal of *Byron*, accuſtomed to ſpeak freely to him, and who had not at all fought, but had kept his quarter with a body of reſerve, to hinder the rallying of the enemies, could not refrain from telling him; *Ah Sir, this is not juſt; you have this day done what* Byron *ought to do, and he only what the King ought to have done.*

This Remonſtrance was approved by all thoſe that heard it; and the Principal Chiefs took the liberty to entreat the King, not to expoſe any more his perſon; but to conſider,

that

that God had not deſtined him to be a Muſ- Part II.
quetier, but to be King of *France*: that all the armes of his ſubjects ought to fight for him; but that they would all become lame and benummed, ſhould they loſe their head, which gave them motion.

His Valour this day out-ſhone that of the greateſt of his Chieftains; but beſides that, his Clemency, his Generoſity, and his Courteſie, added a wonderful Splendor to his fair actions: and the manner with which he uſed his victory, was a certain proof that he gained it by his Conduct rather then fortune. His Clemency and Generoſity after the Victory.

He choſe rather to receive the Battalions of the *Suiſſes* on Compoſition, then to cut them in pieces, as he might have done: he reſtored them their Enſigns, and cauſed them to be reconducted into their Country, by his Commiſſaries; by which he gained the affection of five little Catholick Cantons.

He had nothing more in his heart, then to make his Subjects know, that he deſired to ſpare their blood, and that they had to do with a mild and merciful King, and not with a cruel and implacable enemy: he cauſed to be proclaimed in the rout, *Save the* French, *and let your blows fall on the ſtranger*. He took to mercy all thoſe which demanded quarter, and ſaved them as much as he could from the hands of the Souldiers fleſh'd in the ſlaughter. He treated the Priſoners, particularly the Gentlemen, not only with humanity, but likewiſe with courteſie: and he loaded with

Part II. His Acknowledgements and Justice.

honour, praises and thanks, all the Nobility which had fought for him; sharing with them the glory of the day, and giving them embraces, as earnests of those recompences they might expect from him when he should be in power.

A Noble Action he did.

I cannot forget one Action which he did, of wonderful goodness, and which was of wonderful efficacy to assure to him the hearts of his Officers and Gentlemen. Colonel *Thische*, or *Theodoric* of *Schomberg*, commanding some Troops of *Reisters*, had been enforced the evening before the Battel, by the clamours of those Brutes, to demand of him those Musters were due to them; and to represent to him, that upon less Conditions they would not fight. The *Suisses* and *Allemans* of that time, used often to act so; of which Histories furnish us with an hundred Examples. The King, much incensed at such a demand, answered him, *How, Colonel* Thische! *is this done like a Man of Honour, to demand money when you ought to receive Orders for the Battel?* The Colonel retired much confused, without replying any thing. On the morrow, the King, having arranged his Troops, remembred that he had ill treated him; and thereupon, pressed forward by a motion which could finde no place but in a generous Soul, went to seek him, and told him, *Colonel, you see we are engaged in an occasion which obliges us to no long stay; but it is not just I should take away the Honour of so brave a Gentleman as your self: I declare*

clare therefore that I acknowledge you for an honeſt Man, and one incapable of committing any thing unworthy. Part II.

This ſaid, he cordially embraced him; and the Colonel having the tears ſtanding in his Eyes, with tenderneſs anſwered him, *Ah, Sir, by reſtoring me that Honour you had deprived me of, you deprive me of my Life; for I ſhould be unworthy if I ſhould not this day lay it down for your ſervice: if I had a thouſand, I would willingly ſpend them all at your feet.* In ſhort, he was ſlain in this occaſion, as were many other brave Gentlemen.

Another worthy Action.

I will yet recount another worthy Action, which may admirably demonſtrate how our *Henry* ſpared neither Civilities nor Careſſes to Gentlemen who ſerved him well: At night, when he ſupt at the Caſtle of *Roſny*, being advertized that the Marſhal *d' Aumont* came to render him an account of what he had done, he went forth to meet him; and having ſtraitly embraced him, carried him in to ſupper, and made him ſit at the Table, with theſe obliging words, *That there was great reaſon he ſhould be at the feaſt, ſince he had ſo well ſerved at his Nuptials.*

What hindred the King to go directly to *Paris*.

The terrour was ſo great in *Paris* after the loſs of this Battel, that if the King had gone directly thither, there could no doubt have been made but they had received him without much difficulty. Some ſaid, that it was the Marſhal of *Byron* who diverted him; fearing leſt afterwards, not having more need of him,

Part II. he should consider him less. Others thought that it was the *Hugonot*-Ministers and Captains dissuaded him, because they feared lest he should accommodate with the *Parisians* for Religion; and therefore they counselled him rather to gain this great City by famine: which the Marquis *d'O*, at present Superintendant, pressed very strongly; to the end the King taking it by this way, might treat it as a conquered City, draw thence great Treasuries, seize the Rents of the *Hostel de Ville*, making Bankrupt of the Burgesses for the Debts of the King, which were very great.

Devilish counsel.

The widow of *Montpensier* amuses the people.

The Widow of *Montpensier*, one of the principal Organs of the League, who was accustomed to amuse the people with false News, could not plaister the mischief of the loss of this Battel, but by saying, *That truely the Duke had lost it, but that the* Bearnois *was dead.* The Burgesses believed it for five or six days; and this was enough to restrain their first fears, and to gain time to give Orders, and send to levy Succours on all sides.

The King departs from *Mantes*, takes some Cities, and goes to block up *Paris*.

After the Battel, the King, having stayed some days at *Mantes* by reason of the great Rains, re-took the Field, takes *Lagni*, *Provins*, *Motereau* and *Melun*, without permitting himself to be amused by the Propositions of Truce made him by *Villeroy*. After having in his passage attempted the City of *Sens* with little success, he came to block up *Paris*, and took all the Posts and Castles about it, where he lodged Garisons of Horse to beat the Champaigne.

The

The Duke of *Mayenne* was not within; he had left the Duke of *Nemours* for Governour, and was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma* at *Conde* on the *Escaut*, to demand of him some assistance in his necessity. He was in a great trouble, and in a just fear to loose *Paris*, whether he relieved it, or whether he permitted it to be taken; and that the rather, because that he saw well that if he brought in the *Spanish* Assistance, the *Sixteen* would serve themselves of that advantage again to raise up themselves, and possibly would out of despite to him, engage *Paris* under the *Spanish* Yoke. For these *Sixteen* loved him not at all, because he had broken up their Council of Forty, which bridled his Authority; and that to shew himself absolutely averse to a Republican Government, which they would have introduced, he had created another Council, a Keeper of the Seals, and four Secretaries of State; with which he governed Affairs, without calling them, except when he had need of money. Part II. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone to meet the Duke of *Parma*, and had left the Duke of *Nemours* at *Paris*.

Besides this trouble, there happened to him another subject of inquietude, which was the decease of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who died at *Fontenay*, where he was guarded by the Lord *de la Boulay*. He had reason to fear, lest his death should give occasion to the *Spaniards* and to the *Sixteen* to demand the Creation of a King; and that they should press him so much, that in the necessity he had of their aid, he should be constrained to suffer it. In effect, The death of the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* troubles him.

Part II.

The *Spaniards* & the *Sixteen* press him to make a King: he assignes the Estates to *Paris*.

effect, this was the first Condition which the Agents of *Spain* proposed in the Treaty they held with him to give him Assistance: and he, out of fear to displease them, testified that he ardently wished the Convocation of the Estates to elect a King; and transferred the place of their assembly from the City of *Melun*, where he had assigned it, to that of *Paris*; that is, to say, from a City which he had lost, to one which was besieged. In the mean time he employed his Friends with the Parliament and at the *Hostel de Ville*, to keep to himself the quality of Lord-General: which being continued to him, he demonstrated that he feared nothing so much as the Estates, and endeavoured by all his power to hinder them; that which, to speak truth, compleated the ruine of his party.

He keeps to himself the Title of Lieutenant-General.

Paris being blocked up, the Legat and the *Sixteen* forgot nothing to encourage their people. They consulted their faculty of Theologie, and obtained what Resolutions they pleased against him they named the *Bearnois*. They caused many, both general and particular, Processions to be made; and the Officers received their Oath of Fidelity to the *Holy Union*: so it was they called the *League*.

Nemours takes order for the defence of *Paris*.

At the same time the Duke of *Nemours* took great Order to put the City in a posture of Defence; and the Burgesses being for the most part perswaded, that if the King took it, he would establish Preaching, and abolish the Mass, were possessed with an extream ardour, and

and contributed all that was demanded, either of their Purſe or Labour, towards its Fortification. Part II.

There is no finer paſſage in the Hiſtories of that time, then the Relation of this Siege, the Orders which *Nemours* gave in the City, the Gariſons he eſtabliſhed in divers quarters, the Sallies he made for the firſt month, the Inventions he uſed to animate the people, the Endeavours and divers Practices of the Kings Friends to bring him into the City; the Negotiations held in one part and the other to eſſay a Treaty of Accommodation; how Proviſions diminiſhed, how they ſought means to make them laſt, how notwithſtanding all their œconomy, the Famine was extream; and how in the end, that great City being within three or four days of utter periſhing, was delivered by the Duke of *Parma*.

Number of the inhabitants of *Paris*.

I ſhall obſerve onely ſome Particularities very memorable. There were in *Paris* when it was blocked up, onely two hundred thouſand perſons, and there were of them near thirty thouſand of the Country-people thereabouts, who had there refuged themſelves; and there were retired near one hundred thouſand of the natural Inhabitants: ſo that in thoſe times there were no more then three hundred thouſand Souls in *Paris*; whereas it is now believed, that there are twice as many.

It proves not ſo eaſie to take it by famine.

The King was made hope, that ſo ſoon as the *Pariſians* had for ſeven or eight days ſeen the

Part II. the Granaries and Markets without Bread, the Butcheries without Meat, the Ports without Corn, Wine, and other Commodities with which the River is accustomed to be covered, they would go take their Chiefs by the throat, and constrain them to treat with them: or at least if a seditious humour did not so soon prompt them to it, Famine would force them in fifteen days. In effect, they had but five weeks Victuals, but they managed them carefully; and those who had said that, knew not well the people of *Paris*, for they are wonderfully patient: nor is there any extremity they are not capable to suffer, provided they have those know how to conduct them; and principally when they act for their Religion. It cannot be read without astonishment, how blinde was the Obedience, and how constant the Union of that fierce and indocile people, for four whole months of horrible Losses and Miseries. The Famine was so great, that the People eat even the Herbs that grew in the Ditches: Dogs, Cats, and Hides of Leather, were Food; and some have reported, that the *Lansquenets*, or Foot-souldiers, fed upon such Children as they could entrap.

The *Hugonots* would have it taken by force, but the King will not.

The *Hugonots*, ravished with delight to hold that City blocked up which had done them so much mischief, insisted strongly in the Kings Council; and not onely cryed it there themselves, but made it be cryed aloud among the Souldiers, That it should be assaulted by lively force; and that in six hours it would so be-

become a desolate thing. But the good and wise King took no heed to follow those passionate counsels: he knew well, that they would take parts by force, that they might murder all, in revenge of the Massacres of St. *Bartholomew.* "And moreover, he considered that "he should lay desolate a City, the ruine of "which, like a wound struck in the heart, "might possibly prove mortal to all *France*: "That he should in one day dissipate the richest, and almost the onely Treasure of his Estate; and that no person would be benefited by it, but onely the simple Souldiery; "who, becoming insolent by so rich a booty, "would either overwhelm themselves in their "Delights, or as soon abandon him. Part II.

Those who within had taken the care of the Politick part, had committed a great fault in not putting forth the poor, popular and useless mouths. The scarcity augmenting, they sought too late means to remedy it: but not finding any, they deputed some to the King, to gain permission of him to let a certain number depart; who, hoping for this grace, were already assembled near the Gate of St. *Victor*, and had taken leave of their Friends and Neighbours with those Regrets which even rent asunder the Hearts of the most insensible. Useless mouths starve *Paris.*

The King was so good and merciful, that he permitted himself easily to yeild to grant them his Favour: but those of his Council opposed it so strongly, that for fear to disgust them,

Part II. them, he was at first constrained to send back those miserable People. His Clemency nevertheless could not for any long time suffer their violence: for having understood by many, who fearing death less then Famine, had leapt from the Walls, the pitiful estate of the City, and they having truely represented unto him what they had beheld of their horrible necessities, with the incredible obstinacy of the Leaguers; his heart was in such manner overburthened with grief, that the tears start out of his eyes; and having a little turned himself away, to conceal that emotion, he cast forth a great sigh, with these words:

Great Clemency of the King, to let the miserable people go forth.

His generous words. *O Lord, thou knowest who are the causes of this: but give me the means to save those, whom the obstinate malice of my enemies would make perish.*

In vain did the most averse of his Councel, and especially the *Hugonots*, represent to him that these Rebels merited no favour; he resolved to open a passage to the innocent. *I wonder not at all*, said he, *if the Chiefs of the League, or if the Spaniard have so little compassion on those poor people: they are only Tyrants; but for my self, who am their Father and their King, I cannot bear the recital of these calamities, without being touched to the bottome of my soul, or without ardently desiring to remedy them. I cannot hinder those whom the fury of the League possesses, from perishing with it; but for those who implore my clemency, and who are only guilty of the Crimes of others,*

I

I will ſtretch forth my armes to them. This ſaid, he commanded that they ſhould permit thoſe miſerable people to depart. There were ſome who crawled, and others were fain to be carried. There came out at this time more then four thouſand, who all with great and unanimous ſhouts, cryed out, *Long live the King.* Part II.

After that day, ſince they knew it offended him not, the Captains that kept the Guards let daily great bands eſcape, and likewiſe took the boldneſs to ſend victuals and refreſhments to their friends, and to their ancient hoſts, and particularly to the Ladies. Thoſe of the Army ſend victuals into *Paris*.

"For *Paris* being the common Country of "the French, there are few people who love "it not, and who have not there ſome gage "of friendſhip, which forbids them from procuring its loſs and utter ruine.

After the example of the Captains, the Souldiers licenſed themſelves to convey to them meat, bread, and barrels of wine over the walls; receiving in Exchange ſome rich goods at a vile price, and making themſelves brave at the expences of the Merchants: that which theſe were in ſome manner conſtrained to tolerate, becauſe the others had no money wherewith to pay them. This made *Paris* ſubſiſt near a month longer then it would have done: but it is almoſt impoſſible but this ſhould always happen in like occaſions, as hath been ſeen not long time ſince. God be pleaſed for ever hereafter to preſerve *France* from ſo great ills. Which makes them ſubſiſt.

After

Part II. After all, the King knew certainly that that great City could not long subsist; and he desired to gain absolutely their hearts, to the end he might undermine the very foundations of the League. For this reason he combated their Obstinacy with an excess of Indulgence. He gave Passe-ports to the Scholars, not able to refuse them to their Parents who were with him; after, to the Ladies and to the Ecclesiasticks; and in the end, to those who had shewed themselves his most cruel enemies.

The King takes all the Suburbs in one night.

In the mean time, to hasten a little the Chiefs of the League to come to a Capitulation, it was agreed in his Councel that he should render himself master of the Suburbs. The evening of the 27. of *July*, he caused them all to be assaulted at once. They were forced in less then an hour, and all the gates blocked up; his Souldiers having first fortified their quarters, and thrown down the houses neareſt the ditch.

By this last action he took the *Parisians* by the throats, and pressed them in such sort, that they could scarce breath: for which cause their Chiefs apprehending that neither their defences, exhortations, or fear of punishments would be longer capable to retain them, concluded after ten or twelve deliberations, to enter into conference with the King; not out of a cordial intention to treat with him, but only to spin out things to a length, that they might give time to the Duke of *Mayenne* to make an attempt to succour them.

They

They received intelligence from that Duke twice every week, and each time he promiſed them that he would be with them with a puiſſant Army in five or ſix days. Having fed them with theſe hopes for five or ſix weeks, he advanced in the end to *Meaux*, where *Vitry* was Governour, and from thence gave them ſome greater hopes of relief: however, he was too weak to hazard it. Part II. The Duke of *Mayenne* advances to *Meaux*, but dares not relieve *Paris*.

The Duke of *Parma*, who had order from *Spain* to go joyn with him, and not to ſpare any thing for the relief of *Paris*, came with great unwillingneſs. He feared leſt during his abſence the Council or Cabinet ſhould appoint a Succeſſour in his Government; and that he ſhould looſe more in the Low-Countries, then he ſhould gain in *France*: Notwithſtanding he received Commands ſo expreſs, that he was conſtrained to obey. He parted therefore from *Valencienne* on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and arrived at *Meaux* on the two and twentieth. He brought along with him onely twelve thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; but Artillery and Ammunition, for an Army thrice as great; and fifteen hundred Waggons of Proviſions to refreſh *Paris*. The Duke of *Parma* comes to joyn with him with an Army from the Low-countries.

He was without doubt the greateſt Captain amongſt ſtrangers of the Age he lived, for all Exploits which depend on profound Reaſon, and judicious Conduct: he had ſo well laid the Model of his Deſigne in his Head, ſo well taken his Meaſures by the exacteſt Mapps of the Country, and ſo well meditated on all He had ſo well contrived all things, that he was aſſured to raiſe the ſiege of *Paris*.

Part II. that could arrive him, and all that he could do, that he held himself assured of success.

The King never believed he would quit the Low-Countries.

Those who were about the King, had always made him believe, that this Duke would not leave the Low-Countries; and said, That if he did either, that he could not raise so great a power as to dare engage in the heart of *France*: or that if he raised any great Army, he would not arrive time enough to deliver *Paris*. The King suffered himself to be a little carried away with these false Reasons: but when he understood he marched in this manner, he began already to fear that which arrived; and the danger appeared so much more, because he had less foreseen it. In these Apprehensions he was well content to renew the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who on his side feigned to desire an Accommodation more then ever; to the end he might amuse him, for fear he should assault *Paris* by plain force; and to entertain the *Parisians* with the pregnant hopes of their Delivery: for the Famine made them despair in such manner, that it was no longer in his power, with all his inventions, to retain them from surrendry for more then five or six days at most.

He renews the Negotiation with the Duke of *Mayenne*, who feigns to entertain it, to amuse him.

When the Duke of *Parma* was within two days Journey of *Meaux*, he caused it to be signified to the King, That the Duke of *Mayenne* could no longer treat but conjoyntly with him. At present the Council of the King was much astonished, and in a great irresolution, not knowing what to do. It was without

The Kings Council troubled.

doubt

doubt a great ſhame for the King, and a notable diminiſhing of the Reputation of his Arms, to raiſe a Siege which had endured four months; and it muſt needs be a moſt ſenſible diſpleaſure to this Prince, who was brave and glorious, to raiſe it on the Eve of the taking of that great City, the reduction of which had been a mortal wound to the League. Part II.

The King would take a place of battel, and not raiſe the ſiege.

He had therefore but one courſe to take, but which was without doubt very hazardous; nevertheleſs the King reſolved it: this was, to leave a part of his Troops in the Suburbs, and chuſe a place of Battel, where the reſt of the Army might make head againſt the Duke of *Parma*, and not raiſe the Siege. To this effect, the King, confirmed in it by the advice of *la Noue*, *Guitry*, and *Pleſſis Mornay*, left onely three thouſand men on the ſide of the Univerſity, and put the reſt of his Army in Battalia, in the Plain of *Bondy*, which was between *Paris* and the Duke of *Parma*.

Byron adviſes to raiſe the ſiege, and carries it.

But the Marſhal of *Byron*, diſanulling abſolutely that counſel, wrought ſo far, that it was reſolved to advance as far as *Chelles* with intention to give Battel. It was not known whether he was carried to this advice either out of jealouſie, becauſe he had not given the firſt counſel, or becauſe it ſeemed to him too dangerous to remain ſo near *Paris*, from whence there might ſally fifteen or ſixteen thouſand men on the day of battel to charge them behind. However it were, his Authority was ſo great among the Men of War,

Part II. and it was so dangerous in this Conjuncture to contract that hot spirit, that they were forced to believe him, and absolutely raise the Siege to go encamp at *Chelles*.

The Duke of *Parma* seeing that, and judging it not convenient to fight, retrenched himself readily in a Marish so well, that he feared not to be forced: he boasted likewise that the King should not in that Post know how to force him to discharge one Pistol; and yet that he would take a City in his sight, and open a passage on the Rivers to send Provisions into *Paris*. In sum, he executed punctually what he had said. It was not in the power of the King to oblige him to fight; and he took *Lagny* on the *Marne*, whilst he was not able to relieve it. Thus *Paris* was absolutely deliver'd, receiving on the morrow a very great quantity of Boats, laden with all sorts of Provisions. Yet their Joy was not equal to their Comfort: for their too long Misery had in such manner weakned their Bodies, and suppress their Courages, that they were not capable of any sentiments of rejoycing.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Lagny* in the sight of the King, & relieves *Paris*.

Abundance of Victuals carried to *Paris*.

The Troops of the Duke of *Nemours* having regained heart by this refreshment, sallied dayly with the most courageous of the Burgesses, and cut off all Provisions from the Kings Camp, in such manner, that a little Scarcity being got amongst them, Sicknesses began to multiply; and the Gentlemen who had flocked thither out of the hopes of a Battel, began to grow impatient; which the King seeing, assembled

bled his Council to seek some remedy to these inconveniences. He found, that throughout his whole Army there were very ill dispositions; and that he had better make a Retreat, then expose himself to greater Affronts: but being loth to quit the Enterprize of *Paris*, he tryed in passing to carry it by storm on the Universitty-sides, between the Gates of St. *James* and St. *Marceau*: which having done in vain, he retired to *Senlis*, and thence to *Creil*. In the end, not able to do better, he took *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, which incommodated *Senlis* and *Compeigne*. Afterwards he put a part of his Troops in the Cities about *Paris*; sent another into the Provinces, to re-assure them in their Obedience; and kept onely with himself a flying Army. Part II.

The Army of the King constrained to separate.

So soon as he was retired, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Mayenne* enlarged themselves in the *Brie*. *Parma*, instantly sollicited by the Leaguers, besieged *Corbeil*: he thought to take it in four or five days, but he lay before it a whole month, through the Duke of *Mayenne*'s fault; who either out of neglect or jealousie furnished him with Ammunition but by little and little. So that seeing his Army much diminished, and the rest to licentiate themselves to all Disorders, after the Example of the *French* Souldiers, he returned to *Flanders*, much discontented with the Conduct of the *French* Nation, "*whom he had found* (as he "said) *inconstant and volatile; full of Jea-*"*lousies and Divisions; insatiable and ingrate-*

Duke of *Parma* besieges *Corbeil*, and takes it.

He returns to *Flanders*.

Part II. ful. His vexatious Melancholy ſure made him ſay ſo.

Corbeil re-gained by ſtorm. Before his departure, he had the diſpleaſure to hear of the loſs of *Corbeil*, which had coſt him ſo much. *Givry*, Governour of *Brie* for the King, re-gained it in one night by ſtorm: and the League, whatever inſtances they made to him, could not oblige the Duke of *Parma* to ſtay in *France* till they had re-taken it. He left them onely eight thouſand Men of his, promiſing to return at the Spring with a greater Army, and counſelling them in the mean time to amuſe the King by Treaties of Peace until the next *Campagne:* a Counſel which the Duke of *Mayenne* was not wanting to follow; which kept many Cities to his party, were ready to abandon him.

The expedition of the Duke of *Parma* into *France*, retarded much the Affairs of the King, but advanced not at all thoſe of the Duke of *Mayenne:* on the contrary, it embroiled them, and begat thoſe diſpoſitions which in the end ruined them. For the Duke of *Parma*, knowing the defaults of the Duke of *Mayenne*, repreſented to the Council of *Spain*, That he was very improper for the advancement of their intereſts, being both too weak, and having too little Authority to keep in Unity ſo great a Party; too jealous, too ſlow, and too idle to give order in all things: that therefore it was neceſſary that the King of *Spain* ſhould take care of the League, and become abſolute Maſter of it. That to this effect he ſhould

The Duke of *Parma* counſels the King of *Spain* to become chief Maſter of the League.

gain

gain the Eccleſiaſticks, and the people of the great Cities; who having a great deſire to ſee the Eſtate of the Government changed, becauſe under the laſt Kings it had been very oppreſſive to the people, would be eaſily induced either to joyn the Cities together in form of *Cantons*, or make a King, whoſe power ſhould be ſo limited, that he could never weaken them, either by Taxes or by Arms, as the two laſt Kings had done. Part II.

In effect, the King of *Spain*, finding this way moſt commodious to his deſignes, and thinking by it to change *France* into a Republick, or make a King who ſhould onely ſubſiſt by him, conſidered no longer the Duke of *Mayenne* ſo much as he had done, and aſſiſted him but weakly, and endeavoured to create factions among the great Cities, and particularly that of the *Sixteen* at *Paris*, not ſparing any money: ſo that many believed he expended ſuch great ſums in this way, that had he laid them out in raiſing Armies, he had conquered a good part of the Realm.

The King of *Spain* no longer conſiders the Duke of *Mayenne*, but thinks to render himſelf Maſter of the great Cities by factions.

Now our *Henry* conſidering his deſignes, laboured on his part to fruſtrate them. And firſt, as to the Duke of *Mayenne*, he flattered him with Kindneſſes and many good Treatments; which he did for two ends; to wit, to eſſay to gain him, and likewiſe to render him more ſuſpected to the *Spaniards*. To the ſame effect he endeavoured to augment in him the diſguſt he already had for that Nation; and withal, promiſed him great Advantages if

The King endeavours to re-gain the Duke.

Part II. he would accommodate with him. By these means he daily a little restrained him, cool'd his ardour, and hindred him from carrying things to exreamities. And as for the people, knowing that it was the ill Government of his Predecessor which had altered their Affections, and had furnished them with the pretext and occasion of the League to cause their emportments, he omitted no diligence nor no goodness which might reduce them sweetly to their Duty.

He endeavours likewise to regain the people;

This good King considered, that to the recovery of a disease, it is necessary that the causes be taken away; and that to this purpose he was to correct and sweeten the ill humours which had put the Estate into this extremity. His sight of it had likewise made him know, that three things principally had rendred his Predecessor odious and contemptible.

Three means by which *Henry* 3. lost the affection of his subjects. His negligence and inapplication.

"The first, was his softness and faint-
"heartedness; which made him, in stead of
"employing those fair Talents which God had
"given him to rule in his Estate and act in
"the functions of a King, to neglect to apply
"himself, and not take sufficiently to heart
"the conduct of his Affairs, but addict him-
"self wholly to his pleasures. As if Royalty,
"which is the greatest and most eminent of all
"things here below, were onely a vain diver-
"tisement: or as if God had made Kings one-
"ly for the love of themselves, and not for
"his glory, and the common good of men.

"The

"The second, was his ill management, and Part II.
"the wasting his Revenues; which obliged The wasting his Revenues.
"him to seek extraordinary and oppressive
"ways to exact money. Now he had not
"onely consumed his Revenues by his own ex-
"treame profuseness, and by the immense Gifts
"he made to his Favourites; a thing which
"made the people desparate: but much more
"by his negligence, because he would not
"give himself the trouble to take knowledge
"of, or watch over those to whom he trusted
"their Administration: who, forgetting that
"they were onely his dispensers, became pro-
"digal in a thousand foolish expences; and
"distributed them to their Creatures, as if
"they had been their proper Goods.

"The third, was the little belief they had in His ill keeping his word.
"his Faith; and his manner of acting with his
"subjects too subtil, too fine, and too clouded;
"in such manner, that he had always this mis-
"fortune, they were in continual distrust of
"him; insomuch that all his words and acti-
"ons seemed falsities, and they thought they
"did prudently in believing quite contrary to
"all he would have them believe.

Now our *Henry*, having known that these ill ways had conducted his Predecessor to a Precipice, resolved, as well out of the inclination he had to good, as out of good Policy, to follow paths quite contrary.

"First, he would shew to the League, who Three other ways quite contrary, by which
"disputed the Scepter with him, that he was
"worthy to carry it. And for this effect, he
"acted *Henry* 4.

Part II. gained the esteem and affection of his subjects

"acted continually not onely in the Field, and "in matters of War, but in his Cabinet by his "deliberations of important Affairs, by his "Negotiations, by the order and distribution "of his Revenues, by his dispensation of his "Charges and Employments, by his know-"ledge of the principal Laws, the order and "policy of his Realm; and in fine, in all his "Actions, like one who contents himself not "with the name of a King, but would be one "in effect. He would have faithful Ministers, "but would have no Companions. He com-"mitted to them the care of his Affairs in such "manner, that he still remained the absolute "Master, and they the servants. He loved "them tenderly, as it was just, and used a "great familiarity with them; but yet per-"mitted them not to be wanting either in "submission or respect. If he took their coun-"sel, it was by form of advice; and he obli-"ged them much oftner by reason to follow "his, then he followed theirs. He honoured "them with his Graces and with Benefits, but "in proportion and measure: he gave them "not all to one alone, or to two or three; but "like a common Father, distributed his re-"compenses to all those he judged worthy: "and he would that they should receive them "from his hands, and not from others; for he "knew that to give and do good is the most "glorious Attribute of Soveraignty, which "ought not to be communicated to any per-"son.

His activity and greatness of soul.

"In

"In the second place, he took a most par- Part II.
"ticular care to cause his Revenues to be His care of
"well administred: to which, four motives his Reve-
"obliged him. The first, because he was na- nues.
"turally, though not covetous, yet a good
"husband, and one who hated profuseness.
"The second, because he loved his people,
"and would spare them the most he could
"possibly; for he made conscience of draw-
"ing money out of their purses, except up-
"on most necessary occasions; and there-
"fore he never kept near him any of those
"blood-suckers of the Court, who draw all
"to their Coffers, and who never care from
"whence it comes, so that they have it.
"The third, because the necessity he had often
"been in, had made him know the value and
"need of money; and that it was good to
"manage it well, because hard to recover it.
"And the fourth, because not having been
"bred up ignorant in affairs, as too often
"Princes are, he had been well inform-
"ed that the greatest part of those ills
"which had afflicted *France*, proceeded from
"the ill administration of publick monies.
And therefore among all the cares he took to govern well his Estates, he had none greater nor more continual, then that of ordering well his Revennes, and to clear this matter. The Superintendants had imbroyledan d perplexed them with an hundred thousand knots, so that they could neither be loosned nor distinguished; and they had acted in such

manner,

Part II. manner, that this management, as a Treasurer of that time said, was a kind of Black Art, where nothing could be seen; so that thus the goods of the Prince and the blood of the poor people remained ever at their discretion.

Frantis d'O Superintendant of the Revenues, a great expender.

He who at present had care of the Revenues, was a *Norman* Gentleman, named *Francis d'O*, who had been Superintendant since the time of *Henry* the third. This man, to speak the truth, was horribly prodigal in all sorts of Expences: his profuseness rendred him more ingenious and more subtil to find out new inventions to grasp the substance of the people, even to their very marrow; and to perplex more and more the order of the Revenues, to the end it might not be discovered what spoil he made. Now though the King knew him well for such as he was, nevertheless, because he had a strong *Cabal* with the Minions and Servants of the Defunct *Henry* the third, who acted the parts of zealous Catholicks, he was constrained to suffer him in that charge, expecting while his affairs were in a better Estate. In the mean time, to give a check to his insatiable Covetousness; he by little and little himself took knowledge of the management of his monies; and sweetly introduced some orders, now by one means, and then by another, so that he knew in time how to bridle him; and reduced things in such manner, that he could take but little in comparison of what he had done before.

The King constrained to suffer him in this charge, but pares his nailes.

It

Part II.

It will be ſuperfluous to tell with what Nobleneſs and what freedom our *Henry* acted with all the world. "We may ſee through "the whole courſe of his life, that his very "enemies had more confidence in his word "alone, then in the writings of all others. He "uſed much prudence in all his conduct; but "he uſed no deceit, cunning, or artifice. The "Prudent man never walkes, but by wayes "ſtreight and vertuous; and the cunning man, "on the contrary, by paths oblique and "wicked. The Prudent cannot but be gene-"rous and good; whileſt the other cannot "but be baſe, deceitful, and unworthy. Now "it is certain, that all the life of this great "King was nothing but generoſity, good-"neſs, ſweetneſs, and clemency; having a "wonderful inclination to oblige all ſorts of "perſons; at leaſt with kindneſſes, embraces, "and ſweet words, when he had no other "means: he acknowledged the leaſt ſervices, "when he could do it: he ſhewed himſelf "eaſie and affable to all the world, familiar "to his Souldiers, pitiful to the Country-"people; ſo that he would often excuſe him-"ſelf to them when occaſion preſented, for "the evils they ſuffered; proteſting, that he "was not the cauſe of them, but deſired ar-"dently that peace which *Jeſus Chriſt* re-"commended to *Chriſtians*; and that it was "his enemies which forced him to make that "War, which of himſelf he deteſted, as "the ſource and fountain of all crimes and miſeries.

His conſtant keeping his word, and freedom.

His goodneſs.

Part II. "miseries. There appeared in his counte-
"nance a certain alacrity, in his discourse a
"vivacity and particular Grace of Spirit,
"in all his actions a resolution and prompti-
"tude which contented the most difficult, and
"animated the most frozen. Though he
"were yet a *Hugonot*, he spoke with respect
"of the Pope and of the Ecclesiasticks, trea-
"ted the Great ones and Gentlemen as
"his Companions, and flattered them with
"the glory of being the right hand of his
"Estate, and the upholders of the Crown on
He pardoned injuries, and never knew vengeance. "his head. He scarce knew what vengeance
"was; his great heart was without any gall:
"he pardoned injuries, and likewise easily
"forgot them, so as he knew those that had
"committed them did repent, and were
"disposed to do good, or at least to do no
"more ill. It was with these Arms, rather then
This reconquered his kingdom, rather then his sword. "with his Sword, that he vanquished his cru-
"ellest enemies; that he forced the most ob-
"stinate and envenomed hearts to love him,
"and that of the most passionate *Leaguers*, he
"made his most faithful servants; esteeming
"it a procedure agreeing with the gran-
"deur and goodness of a Sovereign, not to
"lose those he might gain; and to with-
"draw men from their faults, rather then
"ruine them in them. See here how he fol-
lowed ways quite contrary to those his prede-
cessor had taken.

1591. Divisions and Jea- After the departure of the Duke of *Parma*, the two parties, that of the King, and that of

the

the League, remained ſome time in great weakneſs; and both were equally tormented with that miſchief of Diviſions and Jealouſies: but with this difference, that thoſe on the Kings party were extinguiſhed by his good conduct, and thoſe of the League daily increaſed. Part II. louſies in the party of the League, and that of the King.

There was a furious jealouſie between the Duke of *Nemours* and the Duke of *Mayenne*, brothers by the mothers ſide. Nor was it leſs between the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Lorrain*; and greater much between the ſame and the *Spaniards*, who raiſed a thouſand traverſes againſt him, by means of *the Sixteen*: for as he could not ſuffer them for Companions, they could not ſuffer him as Maſter; but deſired above all things, that the League had another Chief then he.

In the party of the King, there was likewiſe three or four factions. The firſt, of the rigid and obſtinate *Hugonots*, who would not that the King ſhould ſpeak of permitting himſelf to be inſtructed; threatning to abandon him, if he thought of it; and to this effect, obſerving him continually, and as it were counting all his footſteps. The ſecond, that of the *Catholicks*, who were zealous, or who feigned to be ſo; theſe endeavoured to draw him from the *Hugonots*, and murmured when he either gave them charges or employments, or entertained them particularly. The third was that of the Servants and Courtiers of *Henry* the third, whom the humour of our *Henry* In the party of the King, three factions of *Hugonots*, *Catholicks*, and Servants of *Henry* the third.

diſpleaſed,

Part II. displeased, because he gave them not all they would, and permitted himself not to be led by their fancy. These were for the most part Atheists, and Libertines; nevertheless communicated with the *Catholicks*, and caused much inquietude to the King.

Of these two last factions joyned together, was a third party formed. *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was called *Cardinal* of *Vendosme*, whilst the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* lived, was the Chief of it: This Prince, vain and ambitious, imagining that the Crown would be conferred on him, if his Couzen *Henry* the fourth should be excluded, stirred up the Catholicks to press his Conversion, out of the belief he had that the Conscience of that King, and his affairs not being yet disposed, he could not hearken to it; and would by consequent, by these heedless shifts, be taken for an obstinate Heretick, and oblige the *Catholicks* to abandon him, and after turn on his side. This faction was the most dangerous affair that ever our *Henry* had to deal with, though he seemed to despise it, and called those who were of it, *les Tiercelets*, or *the Thirdlings*. It shone not out with an unmasked face, nor did ever openly separate it self from the other; yet for that it self it was the more to be feared: but it produced in the end that good, that he was constrained to let himself be instructed, and wrought to his Conversion.

The *Hugonots* solicite the

As for the *Hugonots*, when they saw that he lent an ear to the *Catholick* Doctors, they advised

vised with themselves, to the end they might entangle him so that he could not escape them, that they ought puissantly to sollicite Queen *Elizabeth* and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to send him great forces; by whose help they believed they might overcome the League, after which there was no need of his Conversion, and in the mean time they would continually keep him as it were besieged by those strangers forces. In effect, *Elizabeth*, who had zeal for the Protestant religion, interested her self very strongly in the cause of this King, daily generously assisted him, and strenuously sollicited the *German* Princes to concur with her. Part II. Protestants to send *Henry* 4. powerful assistance to hinder him from turning Catholick;

At the same time the *Hugonots* pressed with all their force, that he would grant them an Edict for the Free exercise of their Religion: they pursued it so strongly, that he was forced to accord it them; and they sent it to the Parliament sitting at *Tours*, but they could never obtain it to be confirmed by them, but with these words, *by proviso only*: shewing themselves as much enemies to this false Religion, as they were to the factions of the League. An Edict granted to the *Hugenots*.

During this time, Pope *Sixtus* 5. died, leaving in the Treasury of the Church Five Millions of gold, which he had heaped up. He was much disgusted at the League, and stretched forth his armes as much as he could to our *Henry*, to recal him into the Church; whilst the League endeavoured to shut the Death of Pope *Sixtus* 5.

Part II. gates against him, that they might exclude him from his Royalty. To *Sixtus* succeeded *Urban* 7. who held the Seat only thirteen daies: and to that *Urban*, *Gregory* the 14. who being of a violent spirit, and a *Spaniard* by inclination, zealously embraced the party of the League, as we shall see hereafter.

Election of *Gregory* 14.

I silently pass over divers enterprizes made both by one party and the other. The *Parisians* made one upon *St. Denis*. The Cavalier *d' Aumale*, one of their Chiefs, whom they called, *the Lion Rampant of the League*, was killed in the midst of the City, when he had made himself almost master of it. The King on his side, made an other attempt upon *Paris*. It was called the battail of the Flour, because he was to surprize the City, under pretext of a Convoy of Flour or Meal carried thither: but it was discovered, and obliged the Duke of *Mayenne*, upon the vehement cries of *the Sixteen*, to receive four thousand *Spaniards* into the Garrison; which retarded for more then a year the reduction of *Paris*.

Enterprize of the League. on *S. Denis*, where the Cavalier *d' Aumale* is killed.

Enterprize of the King on *Paris*, called the battail of the Flour.

It is convenient to understand, that neither the one nor the other party having any foundation to keep continually their Armies on foot, they only (as we may say) made War by intervals. When they had been three months together, they retired, and then re-assembled again; and according as they were stronger or weaker, made their enterprises.

The

The King having Rendezvouzed his, besieged the City of *Chartres*, where *la Bourdaisiere* commanded. There was but a small Garrison within; yet however, the siege was long, difficult and bloody. Its length gave subject to the third party to continue many dangerous intrigues: but the taking of that place repressed them for some time. He restored the Government to *Chiverni* Chancellour of *France*, who had had it before the League seized it. Part II. *Chartres* besieged and taken by the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, who beheld himself in no very good Estate, following the Counsel of the Duke of *Parma*, renewed a Conference for peace; which ending without doing any thing, the Princes *Lorrains*, and the Principal Chiefs of the League, held a general Assembly at *Reims*. It was resolved that they being altogether too weak to resist the King, and wanting money, it was absolutely necessary to unite themselves more firmely with *Spain* then they had formerly done: and to this Effect, they dispatched the President *Janin* to *Philip* the second. This President was a man of a strong brain, and a good French-man, who laboured for the League, and for the Duke of *Mayenne*; but who would save the Estate by saving the Religion: so that he well endeavoured to serve himself of the *Spaniard*; but he would not serve them, or procure their advancement. Yet we cannot doubt, but as he had his ends, they had likewise theirs; and that they designed

President *Janin* sent to *Spain* on the part of the League

The *Spaniards* design to profit themselves by the ruine of *France*.

Part II. signed to make good their expences laid out for the League, on the Kingdom of *France*.

The *Spaniard* had for Aid and Second in his design, the new Pope *Gregory* the 14. who yet went on more swiftly, and with more heat then he: for without having regard either to the Letters which *Monsieur de Luxembourg*, after Duke of *Piney*, writ to him on the part of the Princes and *Catholick* Lords which were in the Kings party; or to the submissions, and three humble Remonstrances made him by the *Marquis* of *Pisany*, who was there at *Rome*, deputed from them; he strenuously embraced the party of the League, entertained correspondence with *the Sixteen*, receiving Letters from them, and writing to them; and which is more, he prodigally wasted that treasure which *Sixtus* 5. had heaped up, to raise an Army of twelve thousand men, giving the Command to Count *Hercules Sfondrato* his Nephew, whom he made expressly Duke of *Montmarcian*, to authorize him the more by this new title. He accompanied this Army with a Monitory or Bull of Excommunication against the Prelates which followed the King, and sent it by *Marcelin Landriano* his *Nuntio*, with great quantity of Silver to *the Sixteen* of *Paris*, to be distributed among them, and the Chiefs of the *Cabals* in the great Cities.

Gregory 14. sends an Army to the League.

And a Bull of Excommunication against those Prelates follow the King, and money to the *Sixteen*.

The Parliament at *Tours* having had advice of this Monitory, caused it to be torn by the hand of the Common Scavenger, and decreed

decreed an Arreſt againſt the *Nuntio*. That at *Paris*, on the contrary, annulled that Arreſt, as being, ſaid they, by perſons without power; and commanded that the holy Father and his *Nuntio* ſhould be obeyed. Part II.

After all, theſe Bulls produced no great effect at preſent; and the Cardinal of *Bourbon* tormented himſelf in vain, to make the aſſembly of the Clergy which was held at *Chartres*, declare againſt the Arreſt at *Tours*. Nor did the Army of the Pope do any great exploits, but was almoſt quite diſperſed, ere it came to render any Service.

The ſame arrived not to thoſe Troops the King had cauſed to be raiſed in *Germany*, by the Viſcount of *Turenne*. They ſerved the King well in his affairs, and gained him notable advantages. In recompence, he honoured this Lord with the Staff of Marſhal of *France*; to render him the more capable to Eſpouſe *Charlotta de la Mark*, Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, and Sovereign Lady of *Sedan:* who though a *Hugonot*, had been puiſſantly ſought to, both by friendſhip and force, by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who deſired to marry her to his Eldeſt Son the Marquis *du Pont*. The King made this Match, to oppoſe a man to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who helped to ſuſtain the League. Of which the new Marſhal acquitted himſelf, having among other fair exploits ſurprized *Stenay* the night preceding his Nuptials.

Our *Henry* well ſerved by the Count of *Turenne*.

The King had another great Captain in the

And by the Duke *Leſdiguieres*.

Part II. the *Daulphinate*, which was *Lesdiguieres*; who held that Country, having reduced the City of *Grenoble*; and who saved *Provence* for him, of which the Duke of *Savoy* thought to seize himself, and dismember that piece from the Crown. This Duke being Son-in-law to *Philip* the second, King of *Spain*, the puissance of his Father-in-law had raised his Ambition and Courage, and made him forget that constant affection which his Predecessors have almost continually had for *France*, insomuch that they have held themselves much honoured to be Pensioners to our Kings. But the Conduct and Valour of *Lesdiguieres* made him repent all his high designs, especially by the battails of *Esparon de Palieres*, and of *Pont-Charra*, where that Duke received as much loss as confusion.

He becomes passionate of the fair *Gabriella*.

About this time, our *Henry* conceived a passion for the Fair *Gabriella d' Estrees*; who was of a very noble house: and that passion by degrees grew so strong, that whilst she lived, she held the Principal place in his heart: so that after having had by her three or four Children, he had almost resolved to marry her, though he knew not how to do it, but by hazarding great troubles, and very dangerous difficulties. Having taken the City of *Noyon*, he gave the Government to Count *d' Estrees*, Father of this fair one; and a little after, gave him likewise the charge of Great Master of the Artillery, which had formerly been held by *John d' Estrees*, in the year 1550.

Not

Not long after the Siege of *Noyon*, he understood the escape of the Duke of *Guise*, who after many other attempts, had got at high-noon out of the Castle of *Tours*, where he had been in prison since his fathers death. The News at first no less touched the King, then it surprized him: he feared this great Name of *Guise*, which had given him so much trouble; and he doubted lest this young Prince should re-ingross the love of the people, which his father had possessed to so high a pitch: he was troubled to have lost such a Gage, which might serve him in many things. However, after he had a little meditated, he diminished his apprehensions, and told those who were about him, "That he had more reason to rejoyce "then be troubled: for of force it must hap-"pen, that either the Duke of *Guise* must take "his party; and that if he did so, he would "treat him as his Parent and Kinsman: or "that he must cast himself into the League; "and then it would be impossible that the "Duke of *Mayenne* and he could continue any "long time without contending and becoming "enemies.

Part II. The Duke of *Guise* escapes from prison

The judicious reasoning of *Hen.* 4. on his escape.

This Prognostick was very true. The Duke of *Mayenne* having seen those Rejoycings which all the League testified at this News; the Bonefires made in the great Cities, those Actions of thanks which the Pope caused publickly to be rendred to God, and the hopes which the *Sixteen* conceived to see revived in this Prince the Protection and Qualities of his

Part II. Father, which they had idolatrized: the Duke of *Mayenne*, I ſay, ſeeing all this, was ſtruck with a very ſtrong Jealouſie: and though he ſent him monies, with entreaties that they might have an Interview; yet notwithſtanding he looked not upon him as a new renforce, but as a new ſubject of inquietude and trouble to him.

The Duke of *Mayenne* becomes jealous of his nephew

In effect, this young Prince immediately knit himſelf in firm bond with the *Sixteen*, and promiſed to take their protection. By this means, and by the help of the *Spaniards*, they emboldened themſelves in ſuch manner, that they reſolved to looſe the Duke of *Mayenne*, not ceaſing to cry down his Conduct among the people. I have been aſſured, that there was ſome amongſt them who writ a Letter to the King of *Spain*; by which they caſt themſelves into his Arms, and intreated him, if he would not reign over them, to give them a King of his Race, or to chuſe a Son-in-law for his Daughter, whom they would receive with all Obedience and Fidelity. They adviſed themſelves beſides this, to make a new form of Oath for the League, which excluded the Princes of the Blood; to the end they might oblige all ſuſpected perſons, who would not ſwear a thing ſo contrary to their thoughts, to depart out of the City, and to abandon their Goods to them. By this artifice, they drave away many perſons; among others, the Cardinal of *Gonde*, Biſhop of *Paris*, whom they had begun to hate, becauſe that

The *Sixteen* lean to the Duke of *Guiſe*, and would loſe *Mayenne*.

They write to the King of *Spain*.

They drive the Cardinal of *Gonde*, & many others, from *Paris*.

that with ſome Clerks of the City, he honeſtly endeavoured to diſpoſe the people in favour of the King. Part II.

There remained nothing now but to diſſolve the Parliament, who watched them day and night, and ſtopt their Enterprizes. They had purſued the Condemnation of one named *Brigard*, becauſe he had Correſpondence with the Royaliſts; and the Parliament having pardoned him, they were ſo incenſed, that the moſt paſſionate, by conſpiracy amongſt them, and by their private Authority having cauſed thoſe of their faction to take arms, went to ſeize on the perſons of the Preſident *de Briſſon*, and of *de Larcher*, and *de Tardiff*, Counſellours, whom they carried priſoners to the *Caſtelet*; and after ſome formalities, one of them pronounced againſt them the ſentence of death: in execution of which, they cauſed them all three to be hanged at the window of the Chamber, and on the morrow to be carried to the * *Greve*, to the end they might move the people in their favour: but the greateſt part abhorred ſo damnable an attempt; and even the moſt zealous of the party remained mute, not knowing whether they ought to approve or blame it.

By a horrible attempt they cauſe to be hanged the Preſident of *Briſſon*, and two Counſellours.

**The publick place of execution in* Paris.

Yet there were ſome of theſe *Sixteen* found ſo determinate as to paſs farther: they ſaid, They muſt finiſh the Tragedy, and rid themſelves of the Duke of *Mayenne*, if he came to *Paris*, he being at preſent at *Laon*: That after that, they might aſſure to themſelves the City,

Some would likewiſe kill the Duke of *Mayenne*, but want heart to do it.

Part II. City, elect a Chief who should depend of them, re-establish the Council of Forty which that Duke had abolished, and demand the Union of the great Cities. And certainly there was some appearance, that having the *Bastille*, of which *Bussy* was Governour, the common people and the Garison of *Spaniards* for them, that they might render themselves Masters of *Paris*, and afterwards treat at their pleasure, either with the King, or with the Duke of *Guise*, or with the *Spaniards*: but they wanted Resolution. In the mean time, the Duke of *Mayenne* having been in two days doubt whether he should come to *Paris*, because he feared they would shut the Gates against him, at length comes with a warlike attendance; and seeing that the Parliament durst not attempt to make process against these people, he resolved, whatever might arrive, to chastise them himself; and thereupon, without form of Process, in his Cabinet, condemns nine to death. They could catch but four, whom he caused to be hanged in the *Louvre*; the other five saved themselves in *Flanders*. The most remarkable of these five, was *Bussy le Clerké*, who had been constrained to yeild the *Bastille* to the Dukes people. He was seen to lead a miserable life in the City of *Bruxels*; yet still to conserve his hatred against the French, even to the last gasp, which he breathed forth a little before the last Declaration of War between the two Crowns.

Upon this, the Duke comes to *Paris*, and hangs four; which quite quells the faction of the *Sixteen*.

This terrible blow having quite quelled the faction

faction of the *Sixteen*, the Duke made four Presidents of Parliament, there being now none at all; for *Brisson* was remaining alone, the rest being gone to *Tours*. "But he demonstrated by this, that he did not well understand his own interests: for in my opinion, it is impossible that the Parliament and the Nobility should remain any long time separate from the King: nor can the force of a Party contrary to Royalty consist but onely in two things, to wit, the People or the Souldiery. Part II. He makes four Presidents of Parliament

So soon as the King had received the aid of *England*, and that of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, he besieged the City of *Rouen*. This was one of the most memorable Sieges of that time. *Villars*, a Provincial Gentleman who was Governour, did wonderful Actions. The Duke of *Parma* came to his assistance, having for that purpose joyned with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but *Villars*, who feared that they would not come in time, and likewise that the Duke of *Mayenne* would deprive him of his Government if he entred the stronger into his place, endeavoured to relieve himself; and by a Sally, which we may almost call a Battel, drove the Besiegers a good distance from the Walls. The Dukes seeing that, and that he was no more pressed, retired; and *Parma* lodged his Troops about *de Rue* in *Ponthieu*. But two moneths after, *Villars* wanting Victuals, and the Courage of the Burgesses slackning, he was constrained to write to them, that 1592. The King besieges *Rouen*, where *Villars* was Governour. Great and memorable Sally.

Part II. The City pressed, *Parma* comes to relieve it.

that they should make haste to come and relieve him. The Dukes on so hot an advice, re-assembled their Troops in one day, repassed the *Soame*; and marching without Baggage, came more then thirty Leagues in four days, though there were on their way four Rivers to pass.

The King raises his Siege, and retires to *Pont de l' Arche.*

Being arrived within a League of *Rouen*, they drew into Battalia, in a Valley on the side of *Dernetal*. The King, who was gone to *Diepe*, finding at his return his Army too much weakned to resist those within and without, raised the Siege, to his great discontent; and having at a Leagues distance attended them for twelve moneths space in Battail-array, he after retired to *Pont de l' Arche*. It was held by many, that had they pursued him, he could difficultly have shunned either the fighting of a Battel, or the loosing of it: but the Duke of *Mayenne*, either out of the jealousie he had of the Duke of *Parma*, or for other Reasons, was obstinately of opinion, that it was necessary to take *Caudebec*, to open the mouth of the *Seine*, and bring provisions to *Rouen*. The Duke of *Parma* was forced to yeild to yeild to his advice. They took *Caudebec* in four and twenty hours: but *Parma* was wounded in the Arm with a Musquet-shot; and some days after, the Duke of *Mayenne* fell sick; so that both Generals were both at one time in their Litters.

The Duke of *Parma* takes *Caudebec*, and is wounded; and the Duke of *Mayenne* falls sick.

The Army of the King increases,

In the mean time, in five or six days, the Army of the King encreased by three thou-

said

sand Horse, and six thousand Infantry, which flocked to his assistance from the adjacent Provinces; so that he was stronger then his enemies by near five thousand men. Now Fortune turned, he went to search them, and shut them up near to *Yvetot*, and cut off all provisions from them; so that they were constrained to dislodge by night, and go encamp near *Caudebec*. The two Generals being yet in bed, and their Troops very much amazed, the Marshal of *Byron* beat up one Quarter; and in the end, defeated their light-Horse. The Kings Infantry prepared at the same time to charge the *Walloon*-foot; which without doubt, in the fear they were in, would have demanded quarter: but *Byron* called them back, for fear, said he, lest they should engage themselves between two quarters of the Enemies. It was believed he did thus, that he might not finish the War where he had the principal Command. And see here a sufficient proof of it at another time. The Baron of *Byron* his Son, who was likewise afterwards Marshal, having demanded of him five hundred Horse, and as many Dragoons, to go and invest the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was as it were in a trap; the Father seeing in effect that this enterprize was infallible, regarding him with an angry look, told him swearing, * *How now, Villain, wouldst thou have us send to plant Cabbages for* Byron? "From hence we may know how Wars come "to be of such continuance; it being for the "interest of their Chiefs to prolong them, "be-

Part II. and he pursues the two Dukes.

Byron beats up one quarter, but will not quite defeat them.

He would continue the War.'

* *A French Proverb, as if he should say, wouldst thou have me ruine my own Fortune?*

Part II. "because they finde in them their advantage, "in the same manner as Lawyers do theirs in "retarding a Process.

Some days after, the Duke of *Parma*, being recovered, re-called to minde all those inventions and all those stratagems which he had learnt by a long experience, and by profound meditation, to retire himself from so ill a condition. He found in the end no other way then to pass the River, and retreat in all haste towards *Paris*. He to this effect caused to be built two Forts, directly opposite to each other, on the banks of the *Seine*, with Redoubts which commanded on the Water, and greater ones on the outside, which looked towards the Army of the King. By the favour of these Forts, he passed in an obscure night both his Baggage, Cavalry, Infantry and Artillery, over Bridges of Boats, covered with Planks which he had made to descend from *Rouen*; whilst the King, who in effect had perceived it too late, could not hinder him. So soon as he had passed, he took his march by the plains of *Neuf-bourg*, and made such haste, that in four days he arrived at *Pont de Charenton*, not having been able to sleep (as himself avowed afterwards) till he was come into *Brie*.

Wonderful retreat of the Duke of *Parma*, which the King cannot hinder

Afterwards he led back his Troops to the Low-Countries, covered with glory, for having the second time made a great King raise his Siege when there was least appearance; and having in his sight, deceiving his Vigilance and Diligence, passed a great River, or rather an arme

arme of the Sea, without his being able to assault him. Part II.

This action was so gallant, that our *Henry* could not refrain from wondring at it; esteeming it more glorious then the gain of two battails. "Acknowledging that the "chief work of a great Captain, was not "so much to fight or overcome, as to do "what he enterprizes without hazarding a "combat. The King admires the action.

We ought not forget how, that the first time that the Duke of *Parma* advanced to the relief of *Rouen*, the King went to meet him with a part of his Army as far as *Aumale*, as well to hinder him from passing that little River, as to take notice of him; and how with four or five hundred Carabines only he stopt for a long time all the enemies Army, by three or four vigorous Charges. The Duke of *Parma* believed not that the King was there; not judging that he would hazard his person in so dangerous a post, and with so few forces: but so soon as he knew that himself was present, he caused all his Carabines to give the Charge, sustained by his light-horsemen. The King seeing his men so prest, gave two vigorous Charges, during which they drew forth the greatest part of the Baggage out of the Bourg: but all the body of the Dukes Cavalry coming on, the King lost many of his men, and himself ran great danger of being slain, or taken prisoner; but God permitted that he was only wounded with

A noble and dangerous action of the King at *Aumale*, where he saved his Rereguard.

Part II. with a Piſtol-ſhot, on the Reins, which had been mortal if the Bullet had had more force; but it pierced only his cloths and his ſhirt, and ſomewhat razed the skin. His valour and his good fortune, both equally contributed to draw him out of this peril, and to bring, after ſo ſharp a check, both his perſon, and what remained of his Troops, into ſafety.

Grave anſwer of the Duke of *Parma's* concerning the Kings action.

The Duke of *Parma* admired this action; but prayſed the Courage which our *Henry* had teſtified, more then his Prudence: for when he was demanded what he thought of this Retreat, he anſwered, "*That in effect* "*it was very gallant; but for his part, he would* "*never bring himſelf into a place where he* "*ſhould be forced to retire.* This was tacitely "to ſay, that a Prince and a General ought "to ſecure themſelves better. And ſo all the Kings faithful ſervants came the ſame evening to intreat him that he would ſpare his perſon, on which the ſafety of *France* depended. And the Queen of *England*, his moſt faithful friend, prayed him that he would preſerve himſelf, and at leaſt keep within the terms of a great Captain, who ought not to come to handy-ſtroaks, but in the laſt extremity.

Byron killed at *Eſpernay*.

After the raiſing the ſiege of *Rouen*, the greateſt part of the Kings Army paſſed into *Champagne*, in purſuit of the Duke of *Parma*, and laid ſiege before the City of *Eſpernay*, and took it. The Marſhal of *Byron* was killed by a Faulcon-ſhot, which carried away his head

as

as he was viewing the place. His eldest Son, who was named the Baron of *Byron*, as great a Captain as the Father, and much loved by the King, was a little after honoured with the same Charge of Marshal of *France*: but he lost his Head somewhat less gloriously then his Father. Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and the Duke of *Parma* being parted ill satisfied one with the other, it was not difficult to renew the Conferences between the first and the Royalists: however, things were not yet ripe; there were some seeds sown, which some time after brought forth fruit: for the King consented that he would within six moneths permit himself to be instructed by those means which might not wrong either his Honour or his Conscience. He gave leave likewise to the Catholick Lords of his party, to depute some towards the Pope, to let him understand the duties he applyed himself to, and to intreat him to add his Authority; and that in the mean time, Peace should be dayly treated of. Conferences renewed.

The Duke of *Mayenne* and his party demanded Conditions so advantagious, that they were ill resented; and, to speak truth, many things in this Conjuncture did much trouble our *Henry*: that which most of all perplexed him, was, that the Duke of *Mayenne* violently pressed by the instances of the Pope, and the King of *Spain*, by the remonstrances of those great Cities which took his party, and The Duke of *Mayenne* calls the Estates to *Paris* to elect a King.

Part II. likewise by the necessity of his Affairs, had called the Estates-General to *Paris* to proceed to the Nomination of a King.

The election of a King would have been the ruine of *Henry* 4. and *France*.

Now this Nomination had been the indubitable ruine of *France*, and possibly caused the absolute expulsion of our *Henry*. For there was much appearance and likelyhood that all the Catholick Potentates of *Christendome* would have acknowledged that King whom the States should have elected; that the Clergy would have done the like; and that the Nobility and people, who followed not our *Henry* but because he had the Title of King, would not have made conscience to have quitted him, for another to whom the Estates had granted it.

Expedient which the King finds to hinder this election.

To the end therefore he might hinder this mortal blow, he wisely advised with himself to propose a Conference of the Lords of his Party, with these pretended Estates. The Duke of *Mayenne* was well content with this Expedient, because he saw well that the King of *Spain* desired that he who should be elected, should espouse his Daughter *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*; and thus the Election could not regard him, since he was married, and had Children: but likewise out of fear lest they should hearken to an acknowledgement of our *Henry*, he underhand stirred up some Doctors to say, That this Conference with a Heretick was unlawful; and by vertue of this advice, he wrought in such manner, that the Estates agreed they would not confer with him, neither

ther directly nor indirectly, touching his Estab-
lishment, nor touching the Doctrine of the
Faith; but that they would confer with the
Catholicks holding his party, for the good of
Religion, and the publick Repose. Part II.

The Legat knowing well what this would
come to, endeavoured with all his power to
hinder the effect of this Deliberation of the Es-
tates: but in the end, he was constrained to
lend his hand to it. The Conference was
then concluded; and the Deputies of one part
and the other assembled at the Borough of
Surene, near *Paris*. Conference of *Surene*.

The Estates were assembled in the month of
January, in the year 1593. and sate in the
great Hall of the *Louvre*. There were few
Noble-men, a great number of Prelates, and
a sufficient quantity of Deputies of the third
Estate; but the most part Creatures of the
Duke of *Mayenne*, or payed by the King of
Spain. This Prince, desiring at any price so-
ever to have the Crown for his Daughter, had
destined to send a puissant Army into *France*,
which should hasten the Resolutions of the
Estates: but happily for our *Henry*, the incom-
parable Duke of *Parma* was dead, and the
Spaniard had not in the Low-Countries any
Captains capable of great things. The Count
of *Mansfield* had order to lead his Troops;
the Duke of *Mayenne* went to meet him. They
re-took *Noyon*, but that was all: afterward
they melted away, and became so weak, that
not daring to pass any farther, they returned

1593. Estates of the League assemble at *Paris*.

Mansfield comes with a *Spanish* Army, takes *Noyon*, afterwards his Army dissipates.

Part II. into *Flanders*, where Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* found them sufficient employment.

Byron raises the siege of *Selles* to relieve *Noyon*, but dares not attempt it:

During the Siege of *Noyon*, the young *Byron*, to whom the King had newly given the charge of Admiral, yeilded up by the Duke of *Espernon* in change for the Government of *Provence*, had besieged *Selles* in *Berry*, to take that Thorne out of the foot of the City of *Tours*. The King, perceiving that this paltry Town held him too long time, had called him thence to go and relieve *Noyon*; which notwithstanding he durst not enterprize. These little disgraces wonderfully puffed up the hearts of the Kings enemies, cool'd his friends, and emboldned the faction. The third party, who had kept under a covert, now began to move; and likewise a report ran, that there were some Catholicks who had conspired to seize the person of the King in *Mantes*, under colour of snatching him out of the hands of the *Hugonots*; and would carry him to Mass whether he would or not. He was so much affrighted at it, or feigned to be so, that he took the Field, gathered together his surest friends, and caused the *English* Forces to come and lodge in the Suburbs of *Limay*.

which puffs up the Kings enemies.

Conspiracy to surprize his person.

The Duke of *Feria* brings a Letter to the States-General from the King of *Spain*.

At the same time the Duke *de Feria*, Ambassador from the King of *Spain* to the States-General, arrived at *Paris*: he presented to them a very civil Letter on the part of his Master, and made them a large Speech, by which he exhorted them to expedite the naming of a King; offering them all assistance both of men

men and monies. In effect, the King of *Spain* passionately desired the chusing of one, because, as we have said, he would give him in marriage his Daughter *Isabella*, whom he singularly loved. Part II.

It was therefore now time that our *Henry* should either publish to the world that he would persevere in his Religion without wavering, in which case he must resolve on a War, of which possibly he might never see the end; or return into the bosome of the Catholick Church. It was time for the King to convert.

The Spaniolized Leaguers feared above all things this change, which would take from them all pretext: the good *Catholicks* ardently wished it; they onely feared lest his Conversion should be feigned: the rigid *Hugonots* endeavoured to divert him; threatning him with the Judgements of God if he abandoned, said they, the Evangelical Truth. But all Politicians, both of the one and the other Religion, counselled him not to delay it. They told him, that of all Canons, the Canon of the Mass would prove best to reduce the Cities of his Kingdome; they besought him that he would serve himself of it; and to their Prayers, they added Threats to abandon him, and to retire themselves, being wearied with consuming themselves in his service for the Capricio of some obstinate Preaching-Ministers, who hindred him from embracing the Religion of his Predecessors.

Part II.

In fine, God touches him, and he is converted.

Besides these humane Motives, God, who is never wanting to those who seek him with submission, cleared his understanding with his holy Lights, and rendred him capable to receive the saving instructions of the Catholick Prelates. This resolution taken, he immediately gives advice of it to the Deputies of the League in the Conference of *Surene*. It cannot be imagined how great was their astonishment, nor how the Duke of *Mayenne* was surprized: for they least of all expected to hear this News.

The *Spaniards* and Legat press the Estates to chuse a King.

The *Spaniards* and the Legat having advice that he was about to convert, pressed the Estates more vehemently to elect a King: and seeing that the *French* would not accept of any but one of their own Nation, they proposed that their King should name a *French* Prince, who should reign wholly and individually with the Infanta *Isabella*.

Grand arrest of the Parliament at *Paris* for the Salique Law.

When the Parliament understood this, and that the Estates were not averse to this Proposition; that great Body, though captive and dismembred, remembring its ancient Vigour, ordained, That Remonstrances should be made to the Duke of *Mayenne*, that he should maintain the Fundamental Laws of the Estate, and that he should hinder the Crown, the Lieutenancy of which was committed to him, from being transferred to Strangers: moreover, declaring null all Treaties made or that should be made, which should be contrary to that Law of the Estate.

It

It was ſuſpected that this Arreſt was made by Colluſion with the Duke of *Mayenne*: but *Villeroy*, the greateſt States-man of the Kingdom, gave this Teſtimony for the Parliament, that it took the counſel from himſelf: *Having no other Motives then thoſe of Honour and Duty, as perſons who would chuſe rather to looſe their lives then be wanting either of the one or the other, by conniving at the renverſement of the Laws of the Realm, of which by their inſtitution they are Protectors, and obliged to maintain them by the Oath given them at their Reception.* Theſe words are all very memorable. Part II. Advantagious teſtimony of *Villeroy* in favour of the Parliament.

The Vigour of this Arreſt, made all thoſe good French-men which were in *Paris*, and in the Eſtates, take heart; and at the ſame time the taking of *Dreux*, which the Kings Army forced, cauſed a great aſtoniſhment among the moſt paſſionate *Leaguers*. Nevertheleſs the *Spaniards* ceaſed not to purſue their deſigne. The Duke of *Mayenne*, thinking to ſtop their courſe, made exceſſive Demands before any proceed ſhould be made to the election of a King: but that they might come to their point, they granted him all; and in the end, they declared that their King would name to the Eſtates the Duke of *Guiſe*, to whom he would give his Daughter in marriage, and all forces neceſſary to aſſure him the Crown, if they found it convenient to give him their Suffrages, and elect him. The King takes *Dreux*. The *Spaniards* propoſe to the Eſtates to elect the Duke of *Guiſe* and their Infanta.

Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* enraged, & his Wife more;

Never was man more astonished then the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he saw that he should be constrained to obey his Nephew, and that his Authority must end. His Wife yet more impatient then he, could not refrain from making appear her despite and jealousie; and rather then suffer that they should confer the Crown on this young Prince, she counselled her Husband to make peace with the King at any price whatsoever. He was in effect resolved to do all things rather then raise his Nephew above himself; and therefore he employed all sorts of means to hinder him; and to this purpose he concluded a Truce with the King, notwithstanding the oppositions of the Legat and *Spaniards*.

He makes truce with the King.

In pursuance of this Truce, the King came to St. *Denis*; where there met many Prelates and Doctors, by whose care he caused himself to be instructed. An Historian reports, that the King causing a Conference to be held before him between the Doctors of the one and the other Church, and hearing a Minister grant that one might be saved in the Religion of the *Catholicks*, his Majesty breaking silence, and speaking to the Minister, *How!* said he, *do you agree that one may be saved in the Religion of these Gentlemen?* The Minister answering that he doubted it not, so that they lived well; the King very judiciously replyed; *Prudence will that I should be of their Religion, and not of yours; because being of theirs, I may be saved both according to their opinion and yours; but being*

His subtile Argument against the Minister.

being of yours, I can be saved onely according to your opinion, but not according to theirs: Prudence therefore teaches me to follow the most assured. And thus after long instructions, in which he would amply be cleared in all his Doubts, he abjured his Errour, made profession of the Catholick Faith, and received Absolution in the Abby-Church of St. *Denis*, in the moneth of *July*, by the Ministery of *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbishop of *Bourges*. Part II.

He abjures his Errour, and becomes a Catholick.

That Evening the whole Champaign between *Paris* and *Pointoise* was made shine with fires of Joy; and great number of *Parisians*, who had flocked to St. *Denis* to see this Ceremony, brought back an entire satisfaction, and fill'd the whole City with esteem and affection for the King; insomuch that they called him no longer *Bearnois*, but absolutely King.

The Estates of *Paris* sate no long time after. The Duke of *Mayenne* dismissed the Deputies, who the most part returned ill satisfied into their Provinces; where they served not a little to dispose them to reduce themselves under the Obedience of their Legitimate Soveraign.

The Duke of *Mayenne* dismisses the Estates

There rested now no other pretext to the League, except that the King had not received Absolution from St. *Peter*'s Chair; that therefore he was not yet in the bounds of the Church, and that they could not acknowledge him until he was entred at the great Gate.

He

Part II. He had sent the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to Negotiate this affair with the Pope; who was very much incensed, that the Prelates of *France* had enterprized to absolve him, though they had not absolved him, but by provision, *ad Cautelam* only: for he said, that he alone had authority to restore a relapsed person, as having the only Sovereign power to bind and to loose; and for this cause, he appeared so difficult, nor could ever be bended, till he saw the party of the League quite overthrown.

The King sends the Duke of *Nevers* to *Rome*, to have absolution of the Pope.

The Pope shews himself very difficult

1594. Now since the life and actions of the King made it appear that his conversion was not feigned, the League having no other valuable pretext, was dug up, as we may so say, by the very foundation; so that before the end of the year, it fell to the ground, and there remained to it only a very small number of places in the utmost parts of the Realm, the other Chiefs not being willing to run to the end the fortune of the Duke of *Mayenne*. This Prince was very irresolute, and knew not what he ought to do, as well because of his natural slowness, as out of the regret he had to quit the Sovereign authority which he had in his hands, and out of fear likewise not to find safety with the King.

The League fals in less then a year.

In the mean time, *Vitry* desiring to be the first should re-enter under his obedience, as he had been the first had separated from it, brought back the City of *Meaux*. The Count of *Carces* delivered that of *Aix* in *Provence*.

Meaux, *Aix*, *Lyons*, *Orleans* & *Bourges*, surrender to the King.

Lyon

Lyons surrendred of it self; of which the Duke of *Mayenne* was in part cause, by having endeavoured to make himself master of that City, and snatch it from the Duke of *Nemours*, his brother by the mothers side, who intended to establish a small Sovereignty in that Country. That he might compass his design, he had by secret contrivances made the Burgesses rise against that young Prince; so that they having seized of his person, had made him a prisoner in the Castle of *Pierre-Enciſe*. But he found that in this he more laboured for the King then for himself: for the Burgesses, who had made prisoners the Duke of *Nemours*, fearing lest the brothers should agree among themselves to their prejudice, treated secretly with Colonel *Alfonso d'Ornano*, Lieutenant-General for the King in the *Daulphinate*, and being well fortified, took the White-scarfe, and cried, *Vive le Roy*. The Castle likewise returned to its duty, with the Cities of *Orleans* and *Bourges*. Part II.

The reduction of *Paris* happened on the two and twentieth day of *March*. The Parliament, the Provost of the Merchants, and the Sheriffs, having disposed this great City, received the King, maugre the vain endeavours of some remnant of the faction of the *Sixteen*. The Duke of *Mayenne* was gone into *Picardy*; and *Briſſac*, to whom he had confided the Government of *Paris* for some months past, having taken it from the Count of *Belin*, broke his faith with him; believing Reduction of *Paris*.

Part II. lieving he ought it rather to the King then him.

The King anointed at *Chartres*.

The King had a little before caused himself to be anointed at *Chartres*, with the Cruse of *St. Martin* of *Tours*. The City of *Reims* was yet in the hands of the League; but he would not longer defer his Coronation, because he knew that that Ceremony was absolutely necessary, to confirm to him the affection and respect of his people.

It was almost a wonder how he became master of *Paris*.

It was almost a miracle, how that there being four or five thousand *Spaniards* Engarisoned in *Paris*, and ten or twelve thousand factious persons remaining of the *Cabal* of *the Sixteen*, who all cruelly hated the King, he could nevertheless render himself master of it, without striking stroak, or without shedding blood, except that of five or six Mutineers, who came into the streets to cry to Arms. His Troops having by intelligence seized on the gates, ramparts, and publick places, he entred triumphantly into the City by the new gate, by which *Henry* the third had unhappily fled six years before, and went directly to *Nostredame*, to hear Mass, and cause *Te Deum* to be sung: afterward he returned to the *Louvre*, where he found his Officers, and his Dinner ready; as if he had always remained there.

After Dinner he gave the *Spanish* Garison a safe-Conduct, and a good Convoy, to conduct them as far as the tree of *Guise* in all security: for so those had desired, who brought

brought them into the City. The Garison departed about three a Clock, the same day of his entrance, with twenty or thirty of the most obstinate Leaguers; who chose rather to follow strangers, then obey their Natural Prince. He would needs see them depart, and regarded them passing from a window by *St. Denis* gate: they all saluted him with their hats very low, and with a profound inclination: he returned the salutes to their Chiefs with great courtesie; adding these words, *Recommend me to your Master; go in a good hour, but return no more.* Part II.

He sees the Spanish Garison depart; and what he saies to them.

The same day that he entred into *Paris*, the Cardinal *de Pelleve* Archbishop of *Sens*, a passionate Leaguer, expired in his Palace of *Sens*. The Cardinal of *Placentia*, Legat from the Pope, had safe-Conduct to retire home; but he died by the way. *Brissac*, for recompence had the Staff of Marshal, and a place of Honourable Counsellor to the Parliament: a favour very rare in that time. *D'O* was re-placed in his government of *Paris*, which he had had under *Henry* the third: but he enjoyed it not long, dying soon after. That part of the Parliament which was at *Tours* was recalled, and that which was at *Paris* re-enabled (for it had been interdicted) and both re-united to serve conjoyntly the King.

Parliament at *Tours* recalled to *Paris*.

By noon of that day on which our *Henry* entred *Paris*, the City was every where peaceable; the Burgesses in a moment grew familiar

The City rejoyce, and are peaceable.

Part II. familiar with the Souldiers, the Artificers worked in their shops: In a word, the Calme was so profound, that nothing interrupted it, but the Ringing of the bells, the Bonfires and the Dances which were made through all the streets, even till midnight. It is certain, that that which caused this joy and wonderful tranquillity, was the great opinion which the people had conceived of the generous goodness of this Prince, and the Commands he gave for the orderly government of his Souldiers.

Two worthy actions of the King.

There were two actions which he did the same day he entred *Paris*, worthy observation, proceeding from an admirable Justice, Goodness, and Policy.

The one of Justice.

The first was, that he suffered the Baggage of *la Noue*, one of his principal Chiefs, to be Arrested at his entring into *Paris*, by the Serjeants, for the debts of his Father contracted in his service: and when *la Noue* went to complain to him of this insolence, he answered publickly: *La Noue, you must pay his debts, for I pay likewise those of mine.* "But after "that, he took him apart, and gave him "some precious stones to engage to his cre-"ditors, in stead of the Baggage which they "had seized. Was there ever a more wonder-"ful goodness, or more exact Justice?

The other of Policy.

The second is, that the same evening he played at Cards with the Dutchess of *Montpensier*, who was of the house of *Guise*, and the most vehement Leagues of the Party.

What

What could be seen of more Policy? Part II.

After this reduction of *Paris*, the other Cities and their Governours haſtened likewiſe to conclude their Treaties. *Villars* made his for *Rouen*; ſo gaining to himſelf the Government in chief of this City and Bailiwick, and that of the Country of *Caux*, with the charge of Admiral, which he was to take out of the hands of *Byron*, for that of Marſhal of *France*, twelve hundred thouſand Livres of preſent money, and ſixty thouſand Livres of penſion. At the ſame time, or little after, *Montreuil* and *Abbeville* in *Picardy*, *Troyes* in *Champagne*, *Sens* and *Rioni* in *Auvergne*, *Agen*, *Marmande*, and *Villeneuve d' Agenois* rendred themſelves obedient; and their Governours had all they could demand of the King. The City of *Poictiers*, and the Country thereabouts, treated likewiſe by means of its principal Magiſtrates; and the Marquis of *Elbeuf*, Governour for the League, ſeeing he could not hinder the Revolution, permitted himſelf to be drawn in with them, and compoſed with the King, who left him the Government of that Province.

Reduction of *Rouen*, *Abbeville*, *Troyes*, *Sens*, &c.

In the mean time, the Count *Mansfield* entred into *Picardy*, to endeavour to ſuſtain the League, which was in a very low condition, and took *la Capelle*. The King in revenge laid ſiege to *Laon*, and took it by capitulation, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Duke of *Mayenne* to relieve it.

La Capelle taken by *Mansfield*, and *Laon* by the King.

Balagny with his City of *Cambray*, renounced

Balagny turns to the Kings

Part II. party with his City of *Cambray*.

ced likewise the League, and promised service to the King. He had called himself Sovereign of this City, and had held it from the time that *Henry* the thirds brother, (the Duke of *Alenzon*) had usurped it from the Baron of *Inchi*, who in the great Rebellion of the Low-Countries, had quitted the obedience of *Spain*, to embrace his party. In like manner, the Cities of *Beauvais* and *Peronne* renounced the League, as did likewise that of *Amiens*, shaking off the yoak of the Duke of *Aumale*: There resting to that party in all *Picardy*, only *Soissons*, *la Fere* and *Ham*. And which was much more, the Duke of *Guise* shook off the Duke of *Mayenne*, and brought the Cities of *Reims*, *Vitry*, and *Mezieres* under the Kings obedience; who in recompence of it, gave him the Government of *Provence*, from which he was obliged to withdraw the Duke of *Espernon*, because the People, the Parliament, and the Nobility, had taken Arms against him.

Reduction of *Amiens*, *Beauvais*, & *Peronne*.

The Duke of *Guise* compounds with the King.

And likewise the Duke of *Lorrain*.

The Duke of *Mayenne* remains alone, and retires into *Bourgongne*.

The Duke of *Lorrain* likewise, who negotiated his peace by the intermission of *Bassompierre*, concluded it the twenty sixth of *November*. But neither the example of this Duke, chief of the house of *Lorrain*, nor the general revolution of that party, could oblige the Duke of *Mayenne* to withdraw himself from that danger, wherein he was ready to be overwhelmed: he could not abandon that fair title of Lieutenant-General of the Crown, but flattered himself with the hopes

hopes that the assistance of *Spain* might again give his affairs the upper hand. He was retired into his Government of *Bourgongne*, because that remained yet most entire to him; though to keep to himself *Dijon*, he was forced to make use of an odious cruelty, in cutting off the head of the Mayor, and another, who laboured to reduce it to the Kings service. Part II.

1595. The King declares war against the *Spaniards*.

Now since it was the *Spaniards* who maintained him in his obstinacy, and who made War against the King in his name; it was proposed and agreed in the Councel, to assault them with an open War; to the end that being imployed at their own homes, they might lose the desire and leasure of coming to disquiet the King in his. For they not only assaulted him by force of Arms, and by practices which encouraged the people in Rebellion; but moreover they would have had his life, and endeavoured to murther him, by base and execrable waies. They contrived or favoured many conspiracies against his Sacred person, which were well discovered. Those two which made most noise, was that of one *Peter Barriere*, and that of *John Castel*.

Two attempts on his person.

Of *Peter Barriere*,

The first was a Souldier aged about twenty seven years, who being discovered at *Melun*, in the year one thousand five hundred ninety three, as he sought the execution of his detestable blow, was condemned to have his right hand burned, holding the Knife with which he should have struck the King; after

Part II. to have his flesh torn off with burning Pinsers, and to be broken on the wheel alive.

and of *John Castel.* The second was a young Scholar aged about eighteen years, son of a Merchant-Draper of *Paris*, keeping Shop before the Palace: this villain about the end of the year fifteen hundred ninety four, having thrust himself with the Courtiers into the Chamber of the fair *Gabriella*, where the King was, would have struck him with a Knife into the belly; but by good fortune the King then bowing to salute some one, the blow chanced on his face only, piercing his upper lip, and breaking a Tooth. It was not known for the present who had struck it: but the Count of *Soissons* seeing this young man affrighted, stopt him by the arme. He impudently confessed that he had given the blow, and maintained that he ought to do it. The Parliament condemned him to have his right hand burned, his flesh torn off with red-hot Pinsers, and after to be torn in pieces by four horses: This detestable Parricide not shewing any sign of pain; so much had they imprinted in his spirit, that he would offer a Sacrifice acceptable to God, by taking out of the world a Prince relapsed and Excommunicate. The Father of this miserable villain was banished, his house before the Palace demolished, and a Pyramide erected in its place.

Jesuites exiled the kingdom. The *Jesuites* under whom this Miscreant had studied, were likewise accused for having instructed

instructed him with this pernicious Doctrine; and they having many enemies, the Parliament banished the whole Society out of the Kingdom by the same Arrest of their Scholar. Yet these Fathers were not wanting, notwithstanding that the times were contrary to them, to labour to sustain their honour; but writ many things to justifie themselves against their charge. And truly those who were not their enemies, did not at all believe the Society culpable: so that some years after the King revoked the decree of Parliament, and recalled them, as we shall mention hereafter. Part II.

The success of the War declared against *Spain*, was much different from that which the King maintained against the League; and made it apparent, "That it is another thing "to assault a stranger equal in puissance, over "whom nothing is to be gained but by force "of Arms, then to have to do with rebellious Subjects, and in ones proper Country, "where intrigues and intelligences make "more then one half of the enterprizes.

Reduction of *Beaune*, *Auxerre*, and *Dijon*, &c.

This year the Cities of *Beaune*, of *Auton*, and of *Aussonne* reduced themselves under the Kings obedience. Those of *Mascon* and *Auxerre* were returned the year before. The City of *Dijon* followed their example, and fortified it self against the Castle which *Byron* went to besiege. But in the mean time the Constable of *Castile* descended with a great Army of *Millanois* into *Bourgongne*

Part II. by the *French County*, and passed the *Saone* at *Gray* with the Duke of *Mayenne*.

The King goes into *Bourgongne* against the *Spanish* Army.

The King who was gone into that Country, had the assurance to advance as far as *Fountain-Franzoise*: it was there that with only fifteen hundred men, he made head against that great Army, and did an exploit of War scarce imaginable. *Villars-Oudan* and *Sanson*, two of the Principal Chiefs of the enemies Army, charged furiously on his Troops: *Villars* charged a body commanded by the Marshal of *Byron*, and *Sanson* another on the side of it: they made them both give ground and retreat, flying within sight of that of the King. It was reported that *Villars* knowing he was there, so puissant is the name of a King, durst not assault him, but retired on the left hand: but *Sanson* was not so happy; for the King having with him but one hundred horse, but all chosen Gentlemen of note, and mounted to advantage, with his sword in his hand mingled amongst them and cut them in pieces. *Sanson* endeavouring to rally his people lost his life, by acquitting no small honour.

Battail of *Fountain-Franzoise*, where the King shews his valour; but is in danger of his life.

The King was in so great danger in this fight, that he said himself, "That in other occasi-"ons wherein he had been engaged, he had "fought for Victory, but that in this he had "fought for his Life.

The *Spanish* Army retire.

Having therefore made the Constable by this occasion see in what manner he was to act, he so much abashed his courage, that he durst enter-

enterprize nothing; but a little after, retired. The Duke of *Mayenne* likewiſe deſpairing at ſuch ill ſucceſs, and not knowing longer where to hide his head, had reſolved to retire to *Summerive* in *Savoy*; from whence he would ſend to demand ſafe-conduct into *Spain*, to give an account of his Actions to King *Philip* the ſecond. But the goodneſs of the King tooke care to divert him from this Precipice, and to lay open to him ways of accommodation. He to this effect ſent to ſeek *Lignerac* his Confident; entertained him of the good will he always had for that Duke; teſtified to him, that he pitied him; and aſſured him, that he would be always diſpoſed to receive him into his favour; permitting him to retire in all ſafety to *Chalons* on the *Saone*, till they could finiſh a Treaty of Accord.

Part II.

The Duke of *Mayenne* deſpairing, would retire into *Savoy*.

The King hath pity of him, and offers him an accommodation, and place of retreat.

The Duke accepts this favour; and having underſtood that the Pope was diſpoſed to receive the King into the Church, he demanded a general Truce for the reſt of his party.

The greateſt part of the Kings Council, who conſidered the Delays and Artifices which he had for ſix years uſed, having begun fifty Treaties without ever concluding any, adviſed that the King ſhould grant him no intermiſſion, but purſue him to the utmoſt. But the prudence and goodneſs of the King conformed not with this Sentiment, becauſe he was not ignorant of two Maximes, which are moſt true ones: the one, *That Kings may always when they pleaſe reduce the moſt rebellious*

Part II.

to their duty; the other, *That it is very dangerous to make great persons despair, especially persons of the quality of the Duke of* Mayenne. And for these Reasons, of his proper motion, contrary to the advice of his Council, he granted him a Truce. That which followed after, demonstrated well that this sage Prince had more knowledge then all his Ministers; and how prejudicial it would have been to his interests to do the contrary.

He grants him a truce

La Fere & *Ham* delivered to the *Spaniards*;

In the mean time, of those three Cities which we have said remained to the League in *Picardy*, to wit, *la Fere*, *Ham* and *Soissons*, the Governour of the first, named *Colas*, had delivered it to the *Spaniards*; and *d'Orvilliers* had done the same with *Ham*. However, this last remained not theirs: *Humieres*, one of the bravest Gentlemen of those times, came; and at the same hour so hotly assaulted it, that after a long and bloody defence, they were hewen in pieces: but *Humieres* was killed, and more then two hundred brave Gentlemen with him.

who are cut in pieces at *Ham*. *Humieres* killed.

This loss did in such manner excite the indignation of the Loyal *French* against the *Leaguers*, that the greatest part of them despairing, fled into the Low-Countries, and into *Spain*, where they found at first a favourable Reception, and good Employments; by which they did very great mischief to *France*. Amongst others was a valiant Captain named *Rosny*; who, imagining that they would extend their utmost rigour upon such, who not being

Many Leaguers despairing, cast themselves into the *Spaniards* arms: Amongst others, *Rosny*, who causeth the taking of *Pourlens*.

being Governours, had no places to buy their peace with, resolved to make the War so well, that the *Spaniards* should have cause to recompense him, or the King to redeem him. Part II.

This was he who inspired the Count of *Fuentes* with the designe to besiege *Cambray* after he had forced *Cattelet*, and who perswaded him to facilitate this great Enterprize to take *Dourlens* first, to the end the *French* might not bring an Army to relieve it. It was likewise by his counsel that *Fuentes* went to meet the Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal of *Bouillon*, and the Admiral *Villars*, who came to the relief of *Dourlens*: that he fought them, and defeated them with a great slaughter of the of the *French* Nobility, and caused *Villars* to be slain in cold blood; one of the bravest men of his time. Afterwards returning to *Cambray*, he took it by Famine, and despoiled *Balagny* of his pretended Principality.

Battel of *Dourlens*.

Villars slain

Cambray taken by the *Spaniards*.

But News most important and long time expected, comforted the King for these two great losses of *Dourlens* and *Cambray*: which was, that he received advice, that the holy Father, passing by all those difficulties which the *Spaniards* formed, had granted his Absolution on the sixteenth of *September*, by the Negotiation and pursuits of *d'Ossat* and *du Perron*, his Procurers in the Court of *Rome*; who were afterwards, upon his Recommendation, honoured with Cardinal Caps.

The Pope absolves the King.

After this, the Duke of *Mayenne*, having no more Excuses, nor more Hopes longer to sub-

The Duke of *Mayenne* in the end makes his

Part II. Treaty with the King.

fist, resolved to treat. It was very late; and he could not well expect other then an utmost rigour, if the Generosity of the King had not been greater then his obstinacy. It is most true, that the fair *Gabriella*, very officious to those who sued for his favour, and being at present in hopes to create her self friends and supports to come to the marriage of the King, to which she aspired, did not a little assist to obtain a most favourable Accommodation. Certainly the terms of the Edict which the King granted him, and the Conditions, are so honourable, that never Subject had greater Advantages from any King of *France*: but they had been greater, if that before his party had been so much ruined, he had treated for those great Cities who yet held him as their Chief, and whom by this means he might still have kept firm to his interests.

Hath advantagious Conditions

He comes to *Monceaux* to salute the King.

Some time after, he came to *Monceaux* to salute the King; who seeing him coming along an Alley where he was walking, advanced some paces towards him with all Alacrity and good Countenance possible; and thrice straitly embracing him, assured him, that he esteemed him so absolute a man of Honour, that he doubted not of his word; treating him with as much freedom, as if he had always been his most faithful servant. "The Duke surprized "with his goodness, said at his departure, "That it was now onely that the King had "compleatly vanquished him. And he ever after as well remained in the duty of a most faith-

faithful Subject, as the King ſhewed himſelf a good Prince, and exact Obſerver of his word. Part II.

At the ſame time that this Duke had concluded his Treaty, and obtained an Edict from the King which confirmed it; the Duke of *Nemours* his Brother by the Mothers ſide, and who was called Marquiſs of St. *Sorlin* whilſt the brave Duke of *Nemours* his elder Brother was living, by the means of his Mother, reconciled himſelf likewiſe to the King, and brought under his Obedience ſome little places which he yet held in *Lyonnois* and in *Forez*. The Duke of *Nemours* reconciled likewiſe.

His elder Brother, one of the moſt noble and generous Courages was ever known, died the year before of a ſtrange malady, which made him vomit through the mouth, and through all his pores, even to the laſt drop of his blood. Were it that this malady happened to him out of his extream grief when he was ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Pierre-Enciſe*, to hear of the ſurrendry of *Vienne*, which was his ſureſt retreat; or were it cauſed by a ſharp and ſcalding poyſon, reported to be given him by thoſe who feared his reſentment; he died without being married; and his younger Brother, of whom we ſpeak, was Father to thoſe *Meſſieurs de Nemours*, whoſe deaths we beheld in the years laſt paſt. His elder Brother died of a ſtrange diſeaſe.

The Duke of *Joyeuſe*, who after the death of his younger Brother ſlain in the Battel of *Villemur* near *Mountauban*, had quitted his habit of Capuchin to make himſelf chief of the League 1596. The Duke of *Joyeuſe* makes his Treaty with the King.

Part II. League in *Languedoc*, and had maintained the City of *Tolouse* and the Neighbouring Countries on his party, took likewise this time to make his Accommodation, and obtained very favourable Conditions, by the means of Cardinal *de Joyeuse* his other Brother: among other things, he had the Staff of Marshal of *France*. The Lord of *Boisdaufin* had the same recompence, though he had no more then two little places in *Mayne* and *Anjou*; to wit, *Sable* and *Castle-Gontier*: the King granting him this good Treatment, rather in Consideration of his Person then his Places.

And the Lord of *Boisdaufin*.

Reduction of *Marseilles*

There were now no more to reduce, besides the Duke of *Merceur* and *Marseilles*. This City was governed by *Charles de Casaux* Consul, and by *Lewis d' Aix* the *Vignier* or Judge. As these two men were upon the point to deliver it to the *Spaniards*, a Burgess named *Libertat*, with a Band of his friends, caused the Inhabitants to rise against them; and having killed *Casaux*, and driven out *Lewis d' Aix*, put it in full Liberty under the Obedience of the King.

The King grants a truce to the Duke of *Merceur*.

As for the Duke of *Merceur*, the King granted him a prolongation of the Truce, because he was not in capacity at present to go so soon to dispossess him of the rest of *Brittany*, being much hindred by the Siege of *la Fere*, where he was in person, and where he had made little progress in three or four moneths.

Arch-duke *Albert* takes *Calais*.

Moreover, it happened when he least thought of it, that the Arch-Duke *Albert*, who commanded

manded the *Spaniſh* Army, incited by the counſels of that *Roſny* of whom we have ſpoke, came to fall upon *Calais*; and that *Roſny*, who was a great Captain, having at firſt took the Forts of *Riſban* and *Nieule*, the *Spaniards* forced the place on the 24 of *April*, and put all to the ſword. A little after, the King took *la Fere*, which ſurrendred for want of Victuals. The *Spaniards* having made the Treaty, would have no Hoſtages from him; ſaying, "That they knew he was a generous Prince, "and of good credit: a Teſtimony ſo much the more glorious for him, becauſe coming from the mouth of his enemies. Part II.

Taking of *la Fere* by the King.

The grief which he had for the loſs of *Calais*, was redoubled by that of the Cities of *Guines* and *Ardres*; which were likewiſe taken by the induſtry and valour of *Roſny*, who had done many ſuch other exploits, if ſome months after he had not been killed, happily for *France*, at the Siege of *Hulſt* near to *Gaunt*.

The Archduke takes likewiſe *Guines* and *Ardres*.

Now the noiſe of theſe four or five great loſſes received one upon another, caſt ſome terrour into the hearts of the people; and the Emiſſaries of *Spain* excited as much as they could new ſeeds of diviſion in their ſpirits; ſerving themſelves to that purpoſe of all ſorts of pretexts, but above all, of that of the oppreſſion of the people. Truely it was great; but it was cauſed by the pillages of War, and by the neceſſity of Affairs, rather then the Kings fault; who had no greater deſire then to procure the eaſe of his Subjects, as we ſhall ſee.

This

Part II. This cast him into a great affliction and trouble, because he had no Treasure to continue the War; and he foresaw by the murmurs already excited, that if he crushed the people more, he should raise against himself a new tempest. In this trouble, he had recourse to that great Remedy accustomed to be practised when *France* is in danger; which is, the Convocation of the Estates: but because the pressing necessity gave him not time to assemble them in a full body, he called onely the chiefs of the Peers of his Estate, of the Prelates, and of the Nobility, with the Officers of Justice, and of the Revenues.

The King to have mony, calls an assembly of the Chiefs to *Rouen*.

The manner of their sitting.

He desired that the Assembly should be held at *Rouen*, in the great Hall of the Abby of St. *Ouen*: in the midst of which, he was seated in a Chair elevated in form of a Throne, with a Cloth and Canopy of Estate. On his sides, were the Prelates and Lords; behinde, the four Secretaries of Estate; beneath him, the first Presidents of the soveraign Courts, and the Deputies of the Officers of Justice, and of the Revenues. He made his Overtures to them by a Speech worthy a true King; "who "ought to believe that his Greatness and Au- "thority consists not onely in an absolute "power, but in the good of his Estate, and "the safety of his people.

His Speech

If I should account it a glory (said he to them) *to pass for an excellent Orator, I should have brought hither rather good words then good will:*

but

but my ambition tends to something higher then well-speaking; I aspire to those glorious Titles of Redeemer and Restorer of France. *Already, by the favours of Heaven, by the counsels of my faithful Servants, and by the sword of my brave and generous Nobility, (from which I distinguish not my Princes, the Quality of Gentleman being the fairest Title we possess) I have delivered it from Slavery and Ruine. I desire at present to restore it to its former force, and to its ancient splendour. Participate, my Subjects, in this second glory, as you have participated in the first. I have not called you hither as my Predecessors have done, to oblige you blindly to approve my will: I have caused you to be assembled to receive your counsels, to believe them, to follow them; and, in a word, to put my self in Guardianship under your hands. This is a desire which seldome possesses Kings grey-hair'd and victorious like my self: but the love I bear my Subjects, and the extream desire I have to conserve my Estate, makes me finde all things facile and honourable.* Part II.

The Assembly, moved even to the bottom of their hearts by such tender words, laboured with affection to finde wherewith to continue the War: and to this effect they ordained should be gathered one years payment of all Officers Salaries; and that for two years only there should be be imposed one *Sol per livre* on all which entred into walled Cities, except onely for Corn, which is the nourishment The Assembly grant money for the War.

Part II. ment of the poor. This last means caused much trouble in the Provinces beyond the *Loire*. But *Rosny*, whom the King had some moneths before made Superintendant, no less able then faithful, as we shall speak otherwhere, joyned to this stock a great sum of money which the Receivers had diverted, and which he made return to the Kings Coffers.

King of *Spain* desires the peace.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* finding the forces both of his body and minde to diminish by a languor, which after degenerated into a horrible malady, feared lest his weakness should cause Revolts in his Countries so distant one from the other. Moreover, he had expended his Revenues, and passionately desired to give the Low-Countries to his dearest Daughter *Isabella*: and for these Reasons had made known to the holy Father, that he desired peace; and his Holiness had sent the General of the *Cordeliers* to dispose him more particularly to it.

Surprizal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, retards the peace.

But now when some progress was made in it, there happened an accident, which retarded it for more then a year. *Hernand Teillo* Governour of *Dourlens* for the *Spaniard*, being advertized of the evil order which the Burgesses of *Amiens* kept in the Guard of their City, surprized it one morning about nine of the Clock when they were at Sermon, it being Lent-time, having caused the Gate to be pestred with a Cart laden with Nuts, of which a sack was purposely spilt, to amuse

the

the Souldiers of the Guard. So troublesome news astonished the King so much the more, because he was at present rejoycing and divertizing himself at *Paris*. "He had "given order that all important packets "should be brought directly to him, and not "to others; and that they should bring him "them at what hours soever: so that being "in a profound sleep after dancing a Ball, "a Currier came to waken him, to tell him "this accident. Part II.

He immediately leapt out of bed, and sent for three or four of his greatest confidents, to consult with them. They all judged that it arrived in a very unhappy conjuncture, because the Duke of *Mercœur* was powerful in *Brittany*, the rest of the factions being yet concealed under their ashes, the *Hugonots* making *Cabals* or secret Councels; the consternation of *Paris* being very great, which beheld it self by this means become a Frontier. But this Heroick courage whom so many perils could not affright, was not startled by this; on the contrary, he resolved to encounter it at first, and go immediately to invest *Amiens*, before the *Spaniards* were longer setled in it. 1597.

The King resolves to besiege *Amiens*.

His greatest Captains were not of this advice: but notwithstanding that, he, who had greater knowledge and more constancy then them all, enterprized it courageously; not so much, said he, out of opinion of humane means, as out of the confidence

Part II.

dence he had in God, who had alwaies done him the grace to assist him. And in truth it may be said, that he assisted him more visibly in this occasion then he had ever done.

Many conspiracies discovered.

For he discovered many conspiracies against his person, amongst the rest, of one under Religious orders, whom an agent of the King of *Spain*, as it was said, would have induced to kill him; and very dangerous *Cabals* which the mony of the same King upheld at *Paris*, which observed all his motions, and had designed one day to seize his person at his Castle of St. *Germaine* in *Laye*.

The people contribute willingly, and the Leaguers serve him well.

Moreover, his people answered as they ought, to his Paternal affection, not denying him any thing that he demanded to hasten the siege; and all the Leaguers desiring to testifie to him their resentments for all his goodnesses, served him so faithfully and vigorously in this occasion, whilst others wavered, and kept their stations, that he was obliged to say, that he acknowledged that the greatest part of that people hated not his person, but only the *Hugonot* Religion.

The siege was long difficult and doubtful; and if the King of *Spain* would have imployed all his power, the King could never have succeeded in it: but he was become very Melancholy; he desired onely repose, and cared no more for Conquests; so that he gave not any of those assistances which the Arch-Duke demanded. The Arch-Duke ceased not however to use the greatest endeavour he could

The Arch-Duke comes to relieve *Amiens*.

could to raise the siege. He presented himself before the Quarter of *Long-Pre* with very great forces, on a day when he was not expected; which put the French into so great a fear and disorder, that had he known how to serve himself of the occasion, and had not lost time in consultation, he had put those three thousand men into the City, which he had destined for it. Part II.

His arrival & assaults put the Kings Army in disorder.

The King returning from Hunting, whither he was gone, found a general fear throughout his Army, and likewise some of his principal Chiefs quite daunted. In so great a danger, neither his heart nor his head failed him; he dissembled his fear, gave orders without passion, and shewed himself every where with a cheerful countenance, and with discourses as resolute as after a victory. He made his forces nimbly draw into the field of battail, which he had chosen three daies before, eight hundred paces from the lines. From this place having considered the excellent order of the *Spanish* Army, the little assurance of his, and the weakness of his Posts, where he had not had leasure to fortifie himself, he was a little moved, and doubted of the success of the day. When leaning on the Pummel of his Saddle, with his hat in his hand, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, he uttered these words with a loud voice: *Oh! Lord, if it be to day thou wilt punish me as my sins deserve, I offer my head to thy Justice; Spare not the Culpable: but Lord, for thy holy mer-*

The King re-assures them.

Words worthy a good and Christian King.

Part II. *cies sake, take pity of the poor Kingdom; and smite not the flock for the offence of the shepherd.*

It cannot be expressed of what efficacy these words were: they were in a moment carried through the whole Army, and it seemed as if some vertue from heaven had given courage to the *French*.

The Arch-Duke retires to *Flanders*.

The Arch-Duke therefore finding them resolved, and in good Countenance, durst not pass farther. Some other attempts he afterwards made, which did not succeed; and he retired by night into the Country of *Artois*, where he dismissed his Army. In fine, *Hernand Teillo* being slain by a Musquet-shot, the besieged capitulated, and the King established Governour in the City the Seigneur *de Vic*, a man of great order and exact discipline, who by his command began to build a Citadel there.

The King retakes *Amiens*.

The King marches to the gates of *Arras*, and dares the *Spaniards*.

At his departure from *Amiens*, the King led his Army to the very Gates of *Arras* to visit the Arch-Duke; he remained three days in battalia, and saluted the City with some Volleys of Cannon. Afterward seeing that nothing appeared, he retired towards *France* ill satisfied, said he gallantly, with the courtesie of the *Spaniards*, who would not advance so much as one pace to receive him; but had with an ill grace refused the honour he did them.

The Marshal of *Byron* served him extraordinarily at this siege: and the King, when he

was

was returned to *Paris*, and that those of the City gave him a reception truly Royal, he told them, shewing them the Marshal; *Gentlemen, see there the Marshal de Byron, whom I do willingly present both to my friends and to my enemies.* Part II.

There rested now no appearance of the League in *France*, but onely the Duke of *Mercœur*, yet keeping a corner of *Brittany*. The King had often granted him Truces, and offered him great Conditions; but he was so intoxicated with an ambition to make himself Duke of that Country, that he found out daily new fancies to delay the concluding one; imagining that time might afford him some favourable revolution, and flattering himself with I know not what prophecies, which assured him that the King should dye in two years.

The Duke of *Mercœur* daily delays concluding his Treaty.

In fine, the King wearied with so many protractions, turns his head that way, resolving to chastise his obstinacy as it deserved. He had been lost without remedy, if he had not been advised to save himself, by offering his only daughter to the eldest son of the Fair *Gabriella* Dutchess of *Beaufort*; who is at this day Duke of *Vendosme*.

The King goes into *Brittany*, resolved to chastise him.

His Deputies could at first obtain nothing else, but that he should immediately depart out of *Brittany*, and deliver those places which he held; which done, his Majesty would grant him oblivion for all past, and receive him into his favour. But the King being

Part II. being of a tender heart, and desiring to advance his natural son by so rich and noble a marriage, granted him a very advantagious Edict, which was verified in the Parliament, as all those of the Chiefs of the League were. This accommodation was made at *Angiers*, the Contract of marriage passed at *Chasteau*, and the affiances celebrated with the same Magnificence, as if he had been a Legitimate son of *France*. He was four years old, and the Virgin six.

He gives his daughter to the King's natural son, and by this means makes his agreement.

The King made gift to him of the Dutchy of *Vendosme*, by the same right that other Dukes hold them: which the Parliament verified, not without great repugnancy; and with this condition, that it should be no president for the other goods of the Kings patrimony, which by the Laws of the Realm were esteemed reunited to the Crown from the time of his coming to it.

By reason of this marriage, the King gives his son the Dukedom of *Vendosme*.

1598. From *Angiers* the King would pass into *Brittany*. He stayed some time at *Nantes*; from thence he went to *Rennes*, where the Estates were held: he passed about two months in this City in feasts, joys, and divertisements; but yet ceasing not seriously to imploy himself to hasten the expedition of many affairs. "For it is to be observed, that this great "Prince employed himself all the mornings "in serious things, and dedicated the rest of "the day to his divertisements; yet not in "such manner, that he would not readily "quit his greatest pleasures, when there was "any

He goes to *Nantes* and *Rennes*.

"any thing of importance to be acted; and Part II.
"he still gave express order, not to defer the
"advertizing him of such things.

He took away a great many superfluous Garisons in this Country; suppressed many impossts, which the Tyranny of many particular persons had introduced during the War; disbanded all those pilfering Troops, which laid waste the plain Country; sent forth the Provosts into the Campagne, against the theeves which were in great number; restored Justice to its authority, which License had weakned; and gathered four Millions, of which the Estates of the Country, of their own free will, levyed eight hundred thousand crowns. So he laboured profitably for these two ends, which he ought most to intend, to wit, the ease of his people, and the increase of his treasures. "Two things which are incomparible "when a Prince is not Just and a good mana- "ger, or lets his mony be managed by others "without taking diligent care of his ac- "counts. He puts good order in the Province.

Thus was a calme of Peace restored to *France* within it self, after ten years Civil Wars, by a particular grace of God on this Kingdom; by the labour, diligence, goodness, and valour of the best King that ever was. And in the mean time a peace was seriously endeavoured between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. The two Kings equally wished it: our *Henry*, because he passionately desired to ease his people, and to let them Endeavours for a general peace, and the two Kings wish it.

Part II. regain their forces, after so many bloody and violent agitations; and *Philip*, because he found himself incline to the end of his days, and that his Son *Philip* the third was not able to sustain the burthen of a War against so great a King.

The Deputies met at *Vervin*.

The Deputies of one part and the other had been assembled for three months in the little City of *Vervins*, with the Popes *Nuntio*. Those of *France*, were *Pompone* of *Believre*, and *Nicholas Brustard*, both Counsellours of State, and the last likewise President of the Parliament; who acting agreeably, and without jealousies, determined on the most difficult Articles in very little time; and according to the order they received from the King, signed the peace on the second of *May*. The 12. of the same month it was published at *Vervin*.

Substance of the Treaty of *Vervin*.

It would be too long to insert here all the Articles of the Treaty: I shall say only, that it was agreed, that the *Spaniards* should surrender all the places they had taken in *Picardy*, and *Blavet* which they yet held in *Brittany*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should be comprehended in this Treaty; provided he delivered to the King the City of *Berry*, which he held in *Provence*. And for the Marquesate of *Saluces*, which that Duke had taken from *France*, towards the latter end of the Reign of *Henry* the third, that it should be remitted to the judgement of the holy Father, who was to decide that controversie in a year.

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The Publication of the Peace was made on the same day through all the Cities of *France*; and the Low-Countries, with those rejoycings, whose rumour spread to the utmost bounds of Christendom; but none so truly resented a joy for it, as our *Henry*, who was accustomed to say, "That it being a "thing Barbarous, and contrary to the laws of "Nature and Christianity, to make War for "the love of War, a Christian Prince ought "never refuse peace, if it were not abso-"lutely disadvantagious to him. Part II. The peace published.

The Third Part OF THE LIFE OF *Henry* the *Great*.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

Briefly containing what he did after the Peace of *Vervin*, made in the year 1598. unto his death, which happened in the year 1610.

1598. The third part of the Life of *Henry* the great, more calm and more peaceable then the others.

Hitherto we have followed the Fortune of our *Henry* through ways craggy and intricate, over Rocks and Precipices, during times very troublesome and full of storms and tempests: at present we are about to trace it through paths more easie and fair, in the sweetnesses of calm and quiet peace; where however his Vertue slept not in his repose, but appeared always active; where his great Soul was employed without ceasing in the true functions of Royalty; and where, in fine, among his

his Divertiſements, he made his moſt neceſſary and moſt important employs, his principal pleaſures. Part III.

In the two firſt parts of his Life which we have ſeen, he was by conſtraint a Man of War and of the Field; in this laſt, a Man of Counſel and a great Polititian: but in both, invincible and indefatigable. He was a Souldier by conſtraint, but a Polititian by inclination.

The true duty of a Soveraign, conſiſts principally in protecting his Subjects: he muſt both defend them againſt Strangers, and repreſs the Factions and Attempts of Rebels. It is for this purpoſe that he hath the power of Arms in his hands, and that it is advantagious to him perfectly to underſtand the myſtery of War. But that comprehends but a part of his Functions; and we may truely ſay, that it is neither the moſt neceſſary nor the moſt ſatisfactory. "For beſides that he may manage "his Wars by his Lieutenants, who doubts "him to be the moſt happy Prince, that go- "verns his Affairs in ſuch a manner, that he "hath no need of his Sword, but is powerful "enough to diſtribute Juſtice, puniſh the "wicked, and to honour and reward deſer- "ving men? to confer graces and recompen- "ces, to keep good order, and conſerve the "Laws? to maintain his Provinces in tran- "quillity, ſuſtain his Reputation and great- "neſs by his good Conduct, inform himſelf "often and diligently of all that paſſes, make "himſelf to be feared by his Enemies, and e- "ſteemed by his Allies; and, like a Soveraign, him- It is neceſſary a King ſhould know War; but beſides that, there are other functions of Royalty. What thoſe functions are.

Part III. "himself preside in his Councils, receive "Ambassadours, and answer them; dispatch "great Affairs by Treaties and Negotiations; "prevent all ill, and deprive wicked persons "and enemies of their power to hurt; encou- "rage Traffick and the Studies of Sciences "and Noble Arts; to make his Kingdome "rich, flourishing and abundant; to fetch "wealth from all the corners of the earth; "but above all, to procure the glory and ser- "vice of God, so that his Kingdome may be "as a Paradise of Delights, and a Harbour of "Felicity. These are, in my opinion, Em- "ploys worthy a potent King, a Christian and "wise King; who, being the Shepherd of his "people, (as *Homer* often calls the great King "*Agamemnon*) ought not onely know how "to drive away the Wolves, I mean, make "War; but likewise understand how to ma- "nage his Flock, preserve them from Diseases, "fatten and multiply them.

The Peace sworn by the King and Arch-Duke *Albertus*.

The Peace being published with an incredible joy of the *French*, *Flemins* and *Spaniards*, it was solemnly sworn by the King on the one and twentieth of *June*, in the Church of *Nostre-Dame*, on the Cross and the holy Evangelists, in the presence of the Duke of *Arscot* and the Admiral of *Arragon*, Ambassadors from the King of *Spain* for that purpose: and afterwards Cardinal-Arch-Duke *Albert*, Governour of the Low-Countries for that King, swore it on the six and twentieth of the same moneth, in the City of *Bruxels*, the

Mar-

Marſhal of *Byron* aſſiſting; whom our *Henry* had newly honoured with the Quality of Duke and Peer, confirmed in Parliament, as well to give more ſplendour to that Embaſſy, as to recompenſe thoſe great ſervices that Lord had rendred him in his Wars. Part III. *Byron* made Duke and Peer, goes to ſwear the peace in the *Netherlands*.

In this Voyage the *Spaniards* ſpared neither Careſſes nor Prayers to this new Duke, to inſpire him with Pride and Vanity, and intoxicated him in ſuch manner with a good opinion of himſelf, that it put a fancie in his head, that the King ought him more then he would ever know how to give him; and that if his vertue were not ſufficiently honoured in *France*, he would finde other places where it ſhould be ſet at a higher price. That which afterwards produced very ill effects. The *Spaniards* poſſeſs him with pride and preſumption.

Many among the *French*, who knew not truely the pitiful eſtate wherein the King of *Spain* and his Affairs were, could not comprehend why this Prince ſhould buy the peace at ſo dear a rate as the ſurrendry of ſix or ſeven ſtrong places; and amongſt others, *Calais* and *Blavet*, which might be called the Keys of *France*. On the contrary, the *Spaniards*, who beheld their King as it were dying, his Treaſury waſted, the Low-Countries ſhattered in pieces, *Portugal* and his Lands in *Italy* on the point to revolt, the Son which he left a good Prince in truth, but who loved repoſe, were aſtoniſhed that the *French*, having ſo bravely re-taken *Amiens*, and re-united all their Forces after the Treaty of the Duke of VVhat the *French* and what the *Spaniards* ſaid of the peace.

Mer-

Part III. *Mercœur*, had not preſſed farther into the Low-Countries, ſeeing that in all appearance they might either have carried them, or at leaſt ſorely ſhaken them. The King anſwered, "That if he had deſired peace, it was not be-"cauſe he was weary of the incommodities of "War, but to give leave to afflicted *Chriſten-*"*dome* to breath. That he knew well that "from the Conjuncture wherein things were, "he might have drawn great advantages; but "that God often overturns Princes in their "greateſt Proſperities; and that a wiſe man "ought never, out of the opinion of ſome fa-"vourable event, be averſe to a good accord, "nor truſt himſelf too much on the appea-"rance of his preſent happineſs, which may "change by a thouſand unexpected Acci-"dents: it having often happened, that a "man thrown down and wounded, hath kil-"led him who would make him demand his "life.

VVhy the King deſired peace. Excellent words.

It was known in a little time, that King *Philip* the ſecond had more need of the peace then *France*; for his ſickneſs was more then redoubled: he had for twenty ſix days continually a perpetual flux of blood through all the conduits of his body: and a little before his death, he had four Apoſthumes broke in his Groin; from whence there tumbled a continual multitude of Vermin, which all the diligence of his Officers could not drain.

Strange ſickneſs & death of *Philip* 2. of *Spain*.

In this ſtrange ſickneſs, his conſtancy was won-

wonderful; nor did he ever abandon the reins of his Estate, until the last gasp of his Life: for he took care before his death to treat of the marriage of his Son with *Margaret* Daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Gratz*; and that of his dear Daughter *Isabella*, with the Cardinal-Arch-Duke *Albert*, of the same blood with her; and gave him for Dowry the Low-Countries, and County of *Bourgongne*, on Condition of its Reversion if she died without issue. Part III.

Before his death, he takes care to marry his son and daughter.

He had already signed the Articles of the peace: but this mortal sickness permitted him not to give Oath to it with the same solemnities as the King and Arch-Duke had done. *Philip* the third his Son and Successour acquitted himself of this Obligation on the one and twentieth of *May*, in the year 1601. in the City of *Vallidolid*, and presence of the Count of *Roebepot* Ambassodour of *France*.

His sickness hinders his swearing to the peace.

His son *Philip* the 2. doth it after his dearh.

The license of the War having for many years permitted mischiefs with impunity, there were yet found a great number of Vagabonds, who believed it still permitted them to take the Goods of others at pleasure: and others there were, who thought they had right to do themselves justice by their arms, not acknowledging any Laws but force. This obliged our wise King to begin the Reformation of the Estate by the Re-establishment of publick Security. To this effect, he forbad all carrying of Fire-arms to all persons of what quality soever, upon pain of the Confiscation of their Arms

The King forbids the carrying of arms.

Part III. Arms and Horses, and a Fine of two hundred Crowns for the first fault, and of Life without remission for the second: permitting all the world to arrest any who carried them, except his light-horsemen, his *Gens d'Arms*, and the Guards of his body, which might bear them onely when they were in service.

He dismisses his Troops.

To the same purpose, and to ease the Country of the multitudes of his Souldiers, he dismissed not onely the greatest part of his new Troops, but likewise reduced the one half of his old. He reduced the Companies of the Ordinance to a very little number, and took off the Guards of the Governours of the Provinces, and Lieutenants of the King; not willing to suffer any whatsoever besides himself to have that glorious mark of Soveraignty about their persons.

The Wars had spoiled all Commerce, reduced Cities into Villages, Villages to small Cots, and Lands to Deserts: nevertheless the Receivers constrained the poor Husband-men to pay Taxes for those Fruits they had never gathered. The Cries of these miserable people who had nothing but their Tongues to lament with, touched in such manner the very Entrails of so just and so good a King, that he made an Edict, by which he released them of all they owed him for the time past, and gave them hopes to ease them more for the future.

He remits the arrears of Taxes.

Moreover, having understood that during the Troubles there were made a great quan-

tity

tity of false Nobles, who were exempted from the Tax, he commanded that they should be sought forth: nor did he confirm their Usurpation for a piece of mony, as hath been sometimes done, to the great prejudice of other taxed people; but he would that the Tax should be re-imposed upon them, to the end that by this means they might assist the poor people to bear a good part of the burthen, as being the richer. Part III. He commands the false Nobles to be sought out, and taxes re-imposed on them.

He desired with much affection to do good to his true Nobility, and repay them those Expences they had been at in his service; but his Coffers were empty: and moreover, all the Gold in *Peru* had not been sufficient to satisfie the Appetite and Luxury of so many people. For King *Henry* the third had by his example, and that of his Minions, raised expences so high, that Lords lived like Princes, and Gentlemen like Lords: for which purposes they were forced to alienate the Possessions of their Ancestors, and change those old Castles, the illustrious marks of their Nobility, into Silver-lace, Gilt-coaches, train and horses. Afterwards, when they were indebted beyond their credit, they fell either upon the Kings Coffers, demanding Pensions; or on the backs of the people, oppressing them with a thousand Thieveries. The King, willing to remedy this disorder, declared very resolvedly to his Nobility, That he would they should accustom themselves to live every man on his Estate; and to this effect he should be well con- He retrenches the luxury of the Nobility, and sends them all to their houses in the Country.

Part III. content that to enjoy themſelves of the peace, they ſhould go ſee their Country-houſes, and give order for the improvement of their Lands. "Thus he eaſed them of the great "expences of the Court; and made them un-"derſtand, that the beſt treaſure they could "have, was that of good management. More-

He ſhews them by his example the modeſty of his habits.

over, knowing that the *French* Nobility would ſtrive to imitate the King in all things, he ſhewed them by his own example, how to abridge their ſuperfluity in Cloathing. For he ordinarily wore gray Cloath, with a Doublet of Sattin or Taffata, without ſlaſhing, Lace, or Embroydery. He praiſed thoſe who were clad in this ſort, and chid the others, who carried, ſaid he, their Mills, and their Woods and Foreſts on their backs.

He falls dangerouſly ſick.

About the end of the year, he was ſeized with a ſuddain and violent ſickneſs at *Monceaux*; of which it was thought he would die. All *France* was affrighted; and the rumours which ran of it, ſeemed to re-kindle ſome factions: but in ten or twelve days, he was on foot again; as if God had onely ſent him this ſickneſs to diſcover to him what ill wills there were yet in the Kingdome, and to give him the ſatisfaction to feel by the ſorrows of his people, the pleaſures of being loved.

Words of a good King.

In the ſtrength of his Diſeaſe, he ſpoke to his friends theſe excellent words: *I do not at all fear death; I have affronted it in the greateſt dangers: but I avow that I ſhould unwillingly leave this Life, till I have put this Kingdome in-*

to

to that ſplendour I have propoſed to my ſelf; and till I have teſtified to my people, by governing them well, and eaſing them of their many Taxes, that I love them as if they were my Children. Part III.

After his recovery, continuing in his praiſe-worthy deſignes of putting his Affairs in order, he came to St. *Germain* in *Laya*, to reſolve the Eſtates of the expence as well of his Houſe, as for the Guard of Frontiers and Gariſons, entertainment of Forces, Artillery, Sea-Affairs, and many other Charges. He had then in his Councel (as we may ſay we have at preſent) very great men, and moſt experienced in all ſorts of Matters; but he ſtill ſhewed himſelf more able and more underſtanding then they. He examined and diſcuſſed all the particulars of his expence with a judgement and with a clearneſs of ſpirit truely admirable; retrenched and cut off all that was poſſible, allowing onely what was neceſſary. Amongſt other things, he abridged the ſuperfluous expences of the Tables in his houſe; not ſo much that he might ſpare himſelf, as to oblige his ſubjects to moderate their liquoriſh prodigality, and hinder them from ruining their whole houſes by keeping too great Kitchins. "In "ſum, by the example of the King, which "hath always more force then Laws, or then "Correction, Luxury was ſoon conver-"ted into a Frugality very neceſſary for the "State.

He gives the Eſtates an account of his expences.

Cuts off the ſuperfluous expences of his Tables.

He had choſen for his Councel very able and faithful Miniſters; as, *Chiverny*, *Bellievre*, *Sillery*,

Who were his Counſellours & Miniſters.

Part III. lery, *Sancy*, *Janin*, *Villeroy* and *Rosny*. I speak not here at all of his gallant Men for War, as the Marshal of *Byron*, *Lesdiguieres* Governour of the *Daulphinate*, the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Constable of *Montmorency*, the Marshal *de la Chastre*, the Marshal *d' Aumont*, *Guitry*, *la Noue*, and many others; of whom he served not himself in the Administration of State-affairs, though he often entertained himself with them; and for their honour sometimes communicated to them things of consequence, demanding their advice.

Chiverny. The Chancellour of *Chiverny*, who had been raised to this charge under the reign of *Henry* the third, was a man cold, dissembled, and considerate: but, as his Enemies said, he was a much better Pleader then Counsellour of State.

Bellievre. He died the year following; and in his place the King constituted *Pompone de Bellievre*, a man perfectly accomplished in the knowledge of the Rights and Interests of *France*, and a most expert Negotiator, as he well shewed in the Treaty of *Vervin*. He was old when the King gave him this Charge; and therefore said himself, That he onely entred into it, to go out of it. He counselled the King to make a severe Act against Duels: He established a very good Order in the Council; and ordained, That none should be received Master of the Requests, but who had been ten whole years in one of the Soveraign Companies, or sixteen in other of the Subalternate Seats.

Nicholas

Nicholas Bruſlard de Sillery, Preſident of the Cap to the Parliament of *Paris*, who was his Son-in-law, and who had been his Companion at *Vervin*, was of a ſpirit ſweet, facile and circumſpect. It hath been ſaid, that the Publick never beheld any paſſion either in his Countenance or Diſcourſe. Part III. *Sillery.*

Harlay-Sancy was a man free, bold and dauntleſs, who feared no perſon when he acted for the ſervice of the King: but he was a little rugged, and ſpoke to him too freely; witneſs what he ſaid concerning Madam *Gabriella*, who knew how to return it to him. *Sancy.*

As for *Janin* Preſident of the Parliament of *Bourgongne*, and *Villeroy* chief Secretary of State, they had both taken part with the League; and yet very profitably ſerved both the King and *France*, having in what they acted endeavoured onely for the defence of the Catholick Religion, and not been moved out of a ſpirit of faction. They had hindred the *Spaniards* from planting themſelves in this Realm, and the Duke of *Mayenne* from abſolutely caſting himſelf upon them, as his deſpair had often perſwaded him to do. They agreed both in this point, that they loved the Eſtate and Royalty with paſſion, and that they had great judgement: but for the reſt of their humours, they were very much different.

Janin was an old *Gaul*, who would manage his Affairs by the ancient forms, according to the Laws and Ordinances; a good Lawyer, firm and reſolute, who went directly towards *Janin.*

Part III. his end, and who knew no subtile turnings and windings, but entirely loved the publick good.

Villeroy. *Villeroy* was one of the wisest and most exact Courtiers that was ever seen: he had a spirit clear and neat, which would unravel with an incredible facility the most embroyled Affairs, explain them so agreeably and intelligibly as nothing more, and who turned them as himself pleased. He was wonderfully active withal, and most excellent at finding Expedients; taking his business by so sure hold, that it was difficult to escape him.

The King confers often with his Counsellours, & how. The King often conferred with these Counsellours: for they were now so called, and not Ministers, as they had been for above thirty years before. He spoke to them of his Affairs, sometimes to be instructed, and sometimes to instruct them; which he did either in the Council-chamber, or walking in the Gardens of the *Tuilleries*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*, and *Fontainbleau*. He discoursed often with them apart, calling them one after another; and he did so, either to oblige them to speak to him with more liberty, or not to tell them all together what he would onely tell to some particularly; or for some other reason which he without doubt deduced from good policy. He said, That he found none amongst them who satisfied him like *Villeroy*; and that he could dispatch more business with him in an hour, then with the others in a whole day.

As

As for *Maximilian de Bethune* Baron of *Rosny*, and after Duke of *Sully*, he had been bred up with the King in the Hugonot Religion, and the King had known his capacity and affection in divers affairs of consequence; but above all, that his genius carried him to the good management of Revenues, and that he had all qualities requisite for that purpose. In effect, he was a man of good order, exact, a good husband, a keeper of his word; not prodigal nor proud, nor carried away by vain follies or expences, or play, or women, or any other things not convenient for a man entrusted with such an Employment. Moreover, he was vigilant, laborious, expeditious, and one who dedicated almost his whole time to his affairs, and little to his pleasure: and withal, he had the gift of piercing into the very bottome of matters, and unravelling those twistings and knots with which Treasurers, when they are not trusty and faithful, endeavour to conceal their deceits. Part II. *Rosny*, after Duke of *Sully*.

We have already said how the King desired above all things to provide for a good Government in his Revenues; and the reasons for which he had been obliged to leave *Francis d' O*, in the charge of Superintendant. After this man was dead, he gave that charge to five or six persons, whom he believed both capable and honest men: he was perswaded that he should be better served by them, then by one alone, imagining that they would serve as checks and controulers to one another. After the death of *Francis d' O*, he commits his Revenues to five or six, who acquit themselves ill.

Part III. ther. But the quite contrary happened: every one discharged himself on his Companion, nothing was advanced; and if any would act, the others were not wanting to cross him by their jealousies: so that they only agreed in this point, that every one looked that his Salary was well paid him; which cost the King six times more, then if he had had only one Superintendent, whilst he drew no profit from this multitude.

Seeing that, he makes *Sancy* alone Superintendent:

Knowing then that so many people did onely imbroil his Revenues, he returned them again into the hands of one, and this was *Sancy*. But a short time after, finding him more proper for other Employments then that, he gave him *Rosny* for a Companion, and after made *Rosny* alone Superintendent.

And very little time after, *Rosny*, who knows perfectly the Revenues.

Rosny before he entred into this Charge, was provided with all necessary knowledges to acquit himself well of it; he knew perfectly all the Revenues of the Kingdom, and all the expences which were necessary. He communicated all he knew to the King, who on his part had likewise studied all these things, so that an hundred Crowns could not be laid out, but he would know whether it were well or ill employed. "As it is the advan-
"tage of an unfaithful Steward that his Ma-
"ster be ignorant, and make no inspection
"into his affairs: so it is of a true and faith-
"ful Servant, that he be well instructed,
"and that he clearly see them, to the end
"he

Which the King knows also so well, that he could not be cheated.

"he may know how worthily to esteem his "Services. Part III.

He desires *Rosny* to take no Presents without advertising him.

For the rest of his humour, it agreed perfectly well with that of the Kings. When he trusted him with his Revenues, he desired him that he would never take a bottle of wine, or any the least present without advertising him. And when *Rosny* did advertise him of it, he consented presently to it: and likewise was so willing that in serving him well he might find his benefit, that oftentimes he added gifts of his own, to give him courage to serve him still better and better. But, *Rosny* never received them till they were duly ratified in the Chamber of Accounts: to the end all the world might know the liberality of his Prince towards him, and that he might not be reproached that he made use of his favour to load his own Coffers.

He begins to establish a constant order in the Revenues.

Under the Administration of this Superintendent, the first Law which the King made concerning affairs of this nature, was the immutable constancy of their ordering; which was never to alter, after it was once agreed and concluded on. "For as the most de-"sperate things are by good order redressed "under a firm and constant Conduct: so the "best established and most assured become "dispersed under a light head, which does, "undoes, and redoes without ceasing; and "which on the morrow revokes, what it to "day commanded.

Effects of this good management of *Rosny*.

Rosny soon gave indubitable proofs of his capacity,

Part III. capacity: for having visited only four * Generalities, he in little time got in a Million and half of money, which was in Arrear. And after the Surprizal of *Amiens* by the *Spaniards*, he readily found moneys to raise a great Army, and furnish the expence of the siege: so that he was one of the Principal instruments in the Recovery of that great City.

* *A general place for receipt of Revenues, whereof there be* 20. *in* France, *viz.* Paris, Rouen, Caen, Nantes, Tours, Bourges, Poictiers, Agen, Tholouse, Montpellier, Aix, Grenoble, Lyons, Dijon, Chaalons, Amiens, Orleans, Limoges, Soissons & Moulin.

Expedients to hinder those of the Council to share with the Farmers

It is convenient, since it may prove necessary in all times, to take notice of an Expedient which amongst others he found to hinder the cousenages of the Tax-gatherers. He knew that there were some persons in the Kings Council, who held part with the Renters and Farmers, and who caused them to be adjudged to the Council at a low price, and often made be given great Diminutions. To hinder therefore these people from eating the Cake amongst them, he stopt the hands of the general Farmers, forbidding the under-Farmers longer to pay them any thing, but themselves to bring the mony of their under-Farms into the Exchequer. He doubled by this means the Revenues of the King: for the under-Farms and under-Rents were found to surmount almost two thirds the General Rents and Farms.

The Collectors exclaim against *Rosny*, but he derides them.

Those of the Council and the Collectors at first exclaimed highly against his Conduct; they laid snares every where for him, and be-

begat him a thousand troubles; but with time he brought them to reason. Likewise all those who had no right to demand any thing of him, and who ceased not to importune him, when they could get nothing from him, stormed against his hardness: but he cared not for their fury; he regarded onely legally to pay the debts of the King, and readily to pay what was ordained for good ends: for he knew not how to let that be an hundred times demanded, which was truly due. Part III.

"We have stayed somewhat the longer "on this point of the Revenues, because it "is the most important of all; that by which "all things are done, and without which no-"thing can be done; on which depends either "the ease or the oppression of the people, "and the good or ill success of all designs or "enterprizes.

1599. Our *Henry* much desired at the same time to take care for the Reformation of the Clergy, which in truth was in great disorder, as well in temporals, its goods having been usurped during the Wars by the *Hugonots* and wicked Catholicks; as in spirituals, the greatest part of both Prelates and Pastors being as ignorant as depraved: but he could not yet apply convenient remedies. The necessity to which he was driven to recompence those who had well served him, constraining him to tolerate abuses, and likewise to commit them, disposing Benefices as formerly *Charles Martel* had done. For he gave them

The King cannot yet provide for the Reformation of the Clergy.

His abuse of Benefices.

to

Part III. to people incapable, to Married men, to men of the Sword, to Children, and likewise to Women, to recompense the loss of their husbands killed or ruined in his Service.

I have not attempted to excuse this fault; for there can never be any lawful reason given for the prostitution of the goods of the Sanctuary to prophane uses, or employing the treasures of the Cross in other Services then that of the Altar. I know well that many Ecclesiasticks themselves act otherwise; but who doubteth these people to be worse then those *Jews*, who played at Dice upon the holy Robe of *Jesus Christ?*

Remonstrance of the general Assembly of the Clergy to the King.

About the end of this year, the general Assembly of the Clergy was held at *Paris*, who drew up a Remonstrance to the King; by which the Prelates prayed him to cause the Council of *Trent* to be published in *France*: Not to charge his conscience with the nomination of Bishops, Abbots, and other Benefices having the charge of souls; not to give any persons of the Layty Pensions over Benefices; not to permit Churches and holy places to be profaned as they then were; but to take some order for their reparation, and the re-establishment of Divine Service.

For what concerned the Council of *Trent*, it is to be understood that it was received in *France*, as to those Articles concerned the Faith; but not generally for those which concerned Policy and Discipline, because it seemed to many, that these last were for the most

part

part contrary to the liberty of the *Gallick* Church, and the rights of the King. For which reasons, whatever endeavours the zealous have used, they could never compass its reception, the Parliaments having alwaies strongly opposed it. Part III.

To the Harangue of the Clergy, the King eloquently answered, but in few words: *That he acknowledged what they had said concerning the nomination of Benefices was true; but that he was not the author of that abuse. That being come to the Crown during the flames of a Civil War, he had ran where ever he had beheld the greatest fire to extinguish it. That now he had peace, he would endeavour again to raise up those two Pillars of* France, *to wit, Piety and Justice. That God willing he would restore the Church to as good an Estate as it was in the time of* Lewis *xii. But,* said he, *contribute I pray you on your side; let your good Examples as much incite the people to do good, as they have been heretofore diverted: you have exhorted me to my duty, and I exhort you to yours; let us all in this with envy one to another. My Predecessors have given you fair words, but I with my Gray Jacket will give you good effects. I am all Gray without, but you shall find me Gold within. I will see your desires, and answer them the most favourably I can possible.* The King's answer.

All his Prudence and all his Address were not too much to teach him to govern himself so that both the Catholicks and Pope might be content with his Conduct, and the *Hugonots* have He had need of great Prudence to conduct himself with the Pope and with the *Hugonots*,

Part III. have no cause to be alarmed, or cantonize themselves. His Duty and his Conscience carried him to the assistance of the first; but Reason of State, and the great Obligations he had to the last, permitted him not to make them despair. To keep therefore a necessary temperature, he granted them an Edict more ample then the precedent. It was called, The Edict of *Nantes*, because it was concluded the year before in that City whilst he was there: by this he granted them all liberty for the exercise of their Religion; and likewise license to be admitted to Charges, to Hospitals, to Colledges, and to have Schools in certain places, and preaching every where; and many other things, of which they are since deprived, by reason of their Rebellions and divers Enterprizes.

Edict of *Nantes* granted to the *Hugonots*.

The Parliament strongly opposed it for more then a year: but in the end, when they were made understand that not to accord that security to the *Hugonots*, who were both powerful and quarrelsome, were to rekindle new War in the Kingdom, they confirmed it.

The Parliament with great difficulty confirm it.

On the other side, to sweeten the Pope, who might be troubled at this Edict, the King shewed him all possible manner of respect, and strenuously embraced his interests, as appeared in the action of *Ferrara*, in the years 1597. and 1598.

The King shews all respect to the Pope.

This Dutchy is a *Fief* Male of the holy Seat, of which the Popes had formerly invested the Lords of the house of *Est*, in charge of its reversion

Cause of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*.

version in default of legitimate Males. *Alphonso d' Est*, second of that name, and last Duke, died in the year 1597. without Children, and had left great Treasures to *Cæsar d' Est*, Bastard to *Alphonso* the first his Kinsman. He had done what possibly he could to obtain the Investiture of the Dutchy on this Bastard; who not able to obtain it, yet ceased not to take possession of it after the death of *Alphonso* the second; resolving to maintain it by force of Arms. *Clement* the eighth was obliged to make War against him, to dispossess him: the Princes of *Italy* took part in the Quarrel; and the Dukes of *Guise* and *Nemours* were upon the point to undertake the defence of *Cæsar*, whose near Kinsmen they were, being the issues of *Anne d' Est*, Daughter of *Hercules* the second, Duke of *Ferrara*, and of Madam *Renee de France*: for that *Anne* in her first marriage had espoused *Francis* Duke of *Guise*; and in her second, *James* Duke of *Nemours*. The King of *Spain* likewise favoured him underhand, not desiring that the Pope should grow greater in *Italy* by the re-union of that Dutchy. But *Henry* the great was not wanting to take this occasion to offer his Sword and his Forces to the holy Father. The Allies knowing it, were extreamly disheartned, and he constrained to treat with the Pope, to whom he surrendred all the Dutchy of *Ferrara*. There remained to him onely the Cities of *Modena* and *Regia*, which the Emperour maintained to be *Fief* of the Empire, and of which

Part III.

Cæsar bastard of *Ferrara*, would maintain it.

The Pope makes war against him.

The King offers his sword to the Pope.

Cæsar quits *Ferrara*, & remains Duke of *Modena*.

Part III. which he gave him the Inveſtiture. From whence came the preſent Dukes of *Modena*.

If the heat which the King teſtified in this occaſion for the intereſts of the holy Seat, ſenſibly obliged the Pope; that care which he made dayly appear to bring back the *Hugonots* into the boſome of the Church, was no leſs agreeable to him. He acted to this purpoſe in ſuch a manner, that from day to day many of the moſt underſtanding and of the beſt quality were converted. But that which was more important, was, his taking the young Prince of *Conde* from the hands of the *Hugonots*, who had kept him diligently at St. *John d' Angely* ever ſince the death of his Father, which happened in the year 1587. and brought him up in the falſe Religion, with great hope to make him one day their Chief and Protector. The King, conſidering how it would be both prejudicial to the ſafety of the young Prince, and to his own intereſts, to leave him longer there, knew ſo well how to gain the principal of the party, that they ſuffered him to be brought to Court; and he gave him for Governour *John*, Marqueſs of *Piſani*, a Lord of a rare merit, and of a wiſdome without reproach, who forgot not to inſtruct him well in the Catholick Religion, and in the trueſt ſentiments of Honour and Vertue. He was yet but ſeven or eight years old: when he came to nine, the King gave him the Government of *Guyenne*; loving him tenderly, and cheriſhing him as his preſumptive Succeſſour.

Many *Hugonots* converts.

The King takes the young Prince of *Conde* from the *Hugonots*, and cauſes him to be inſtructed in the Catholick Religion.

During

During this calm of the peace, nothing was spoken of but rejoycings, feasts and marriages. That of the *Infanta* of *Spain*, *Isabella-Clara-Eugenia*, and of the Arch-Duke *Albert*, was solemnized in the Low-Countries: and that of Madam *Katherine*, sister of the King, with *Henry* Duke of *Bar*, eldest son to *Charles* the second Duke of *Lorrain* at *Paris*. Part III. *Marriage of the Infanta of Spain, and Katherine sister to the King.*

Katherine was forty years of age; more agreeable then fair, having one Leg a little short. She was very spiritual, loved Learning, and knew much for a woman; but was an obstinate *Hugonot*. The King feared lest she should marry some Protestant Prince, who by this means might become Protector of the *Hugonots*, and be like another King in *France*: by reason of which, he gave her to the Duke of *Bar*; thinking moreover to gain more belief among the Catholicks, by allying himself with the house of *Lorrain*. Before this, he had used all possible means to convert her, even to the employing of threats: but not being able to do it, he said one day to the Duke of *Bar*, *My Brother, it is you must vanquish her.* *Qualities of Katherine, & why the King married her to the Duke of Bar.*

There was some difficulty about the place and the Ceremony of Celebration of this marriage: the Duke would have it done at the Church, and the Princess by a *Hugonot*-Minister. The King found a mean: he caused it to be done in his Closet, whither he led his Sister by the hand; and commanded his natural Brother, who had for about two years been *The marriage made in the Kings Closet.*

Arch-

Part III. Archbishop of *Rouen*, to marry them. This new Archbishop at first made some refusal of it; alledging the Canons: but the King representing to him that his Closet was a consecrated place, and that his presence supplyed the default of all solemnities, the poor Archbishop had no longer power to resist him.

This Marriage being made for the good of the Catholick Religion, it seemed that the Pope should have been content. Nevertheless, not willing to suffer an ill that a good might come of it, he declared that the Duke of *Bar* had incurred Excommunication, for having without the dispensation of the Church contracted with an Heretick: nor ever could the Duke, what submission soever he made, obtain Absolution. It was necessary for God to lend his hand. This Princess died three years after with sadness and melancholy to see her self live in a discontented manner with her Husband, who dayly pressed her to turn Catholick.

The Pope troubled at the Duke of *Bar* for this marriage.

Death of the Dutchess of *Bar*.

Besides the solemnities of these Marriages, many other things entertained the Court. Two notable Changes, one of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the other of the Marchioness of *Bel' Isle*, caused its astonishment.

The Duke of *Joyeuse*, who had quitted the habit of Capuchin to become chief of the League in *Languedoc*, on a fair day, without saying any thing to any body, went and cast himself into his Convent at *Paris*, and re-took the

The Duke of *Joyeuse* re-takes the habit of Capuchin.

the habit. Few days after, there was much astonishment to see him with that habit of penitence preach in the Pulpit, whom they had seen the week before dancing of Balls, as one of the most Gallant. It was said, that the holy Exhortations of his Mother, who from time to time put him in remembrance of his Vow, and some ambiguous words which the King had thrown out in converse with him, made him think that he could no longer live in the world either with safety of Conscience, or with Honour. Part III.

The Marchioness of *Bell' Isle*, sister to the Duke of *Longueville*, and Widow of the Marquess of *Bell' Isle*, eldest son of the Marshal *de Retz*, having received some secret displeasure, renounced likewise the world, and went and shut her self up in the Convent of the *Feuillantines* at *Tolouse*, where she took the veil, and finished her days. The *Marchioness of Bell' Isle* turns *Feuillantine.*

After this, came News to the Court, that *Phillipin*, Bastard to the Duke of *Savoy*, was killed in a Duel by the *Seigneur de Crequy*: of whom it might be without flattery said, That he was one of the most gallant and bravest men of his time. The History of this Combat may be found written in so many places, and is yet so firm in the memory of all that wear swords, that it would be superfluous to recount the particularities. Duel of *de Crequy*, and *Phillipin* bastard of *Savoy.*

The Chase was now the Kings ordinary divertisement. It is recounted, that Hunting in the Forest of *Fountain-bleau*, accompanied

Part III. by many Lords, he heard a great noise of Horns, Hunters and Dogs, which seemed to be a great way distant; but all of an instant approached them. Some of his company who were twenty paces before him, saw a great black man among the Bushes, who affrighted them in such manner, that they could not tell what became of him: but they heard him cry out to them with a rank and affrightful voice, *M' attendez-vous*, or *m' entendez-vous*, or *amendez-vous*: that is, *Do you hear me*; or, *Do you understand me*; or else, *Amend your selves*. The Wood-men and Country-people thereabouts, said, That it was no extraordinary thing: for they had often seen this black man, whom they named the *Great Hunter*, with a pack of Hounds which hunted at full cry; but never did harm to any.

The Apparition of the great Hunter to the King hunting at *Fountainbleau*.

Infinite account is made in all Countries in the world of like illusions in Hunting. If we may give any credit to them, we may believe them either to be the tricks of Sorcerers, or of some evil spirits, to whom God gives permission to convince the incredulous, and make them see that there are substances separated, and a being above man.

What these fantasms may be.

Now if Prodigies are signes, as some have said of some great and dire Events, it may be believed that this presaged the strange death of the fair *Gabriella*, which happened some days after. The love which the King had for her, instead of being extinguished by enjoyment, was come to such a point, that she had

dared

dared to demand of him, that he ſhould acknowledge his fault, and legitimate his Children by a ſubſequent marriage: nor durſt he abſolutely refuſe her this grace, but entertained her ſtill with hopes. Part III. The fair *Gabriella* demands the King to eſpouſe her, and legitimate his Children. He feeds her with hope.

Thoſe who love the glory of this great King, can difficultly believe that he would have done ſuch an action which had without doubt begot a low opinion of him, and again thrown him under his peoples hatred. However, it was to be feared that the allurements of this woman, who had found his weakneſs, with the flattery of the Courtiers whom ſhe had almoſt all gained, either by preſents or kindneſſes, might engage this poor Prince to a diſhonour. And without diſſembling, he had his ſoul too tender towards Ladies. He was Maſter of all his other paſſions, but he was a Slave to this: nor can his memory be juſtified from this reproach: for though he were admirable in all other parts of his life, he ought not to be imitated in this.

In the mean time, *Gabriella*, flattering her ſelf with a hope to be ere long his Wife, deduced from thoſe hopes himſelf had given her, acted ſo well, that ſhe obliged him to demand of the Pope Commiſſioners to judge of the Divorce between him and Queen *Margaret*. And the King, that he might finde favour with the holy Father, and render him more facile to his intentions, cauſed to be ſaid underhand, that he would marry *Maria de Medices* his Neece, Siſter to the Duke of *Florence*: for She in the end obliges the King to demand Commiſſioners of the Pope to judge of the divorce of *Margaret*.

Part III. whom nevertheless it was believed that he had not then any desire.

And the Pope, were it that he distrusted his intention, or that he saw that Queen *Margaret* lent not her hand to it, protracted the business, and returned onely ambiguous Answers. It was likewise said, that being one day much pressed by the Cardinal *d' Ossat* and by *Sillery* to give content to their Master, for want of which, said they, he may pass further, and espouse the Dutchess; he was so astonished at this discourse, that he immediately remitted the conduct of this Affair to the hand of God, commanded a Fast through all the City of *Rome*, and went himself to Prayers, to demand of God to inspire him with what should be best for his glory. That at the end of his Prayer he cryed out as if he had been revived from an Extasie, *God hath provided*; and that in few days after, there arrived a Courrier at *Rome*, bringing News of the death of the Dutchess.

In the mean time the King grew impatient at these delays; and it was to be feared lest a disdain to be neglected should cast him into the same inconveniencies it had formerly done *Henry* the eighth, King of *England*; or by the counsel of some flatterers, forcing the goodness of his nature, be perswaded to rid himself of Queen *Margaret* in any manner soever.

The King remains at *Fontainbleau* to do his *Easter*-devotions, and sends the fair *Gabriella* to *Paris*.

Gabriella was at present great with her fourth Childe, when the feast of *Easter* approaching,

proaching, the King desiring to do his Devotions for that holy time far from all object of scandal, sent her to *Paris*, accompanying her just half way. She with no small grief parted from him, recommending to him her Children with tears in her eyes, as if she had some secret presentiment; telling him that she should never more see him. Part III.

Being at *Paris*, lodged in the house of *Zamet*, that famous Treasurer, after having dined with him, and heard * *Tenebres* at little St. *Anthonies*, (being holy *Thursday*) as she returned to her Lodging, and being walking in the Garden, she felt her self struck with an Apoplexy in the brain. The first fury of it being passed, she would no longer stay in that house, but caused her self to be carried to that of Madam *de Sourdis* her Aunt, near St. *Germain* of the *Auxerrois*. And all the rest of that day, and the morrow, she was perplexed with Swoondings and Convulsions, of which she died on the *Saturday*-morning.

* *A service in the Roman Church used three days before Easter, which are call'd,* Les trois Jours de tenebres

She dies in a strange manner.

The causes of her death were diversly spoken of: but however, it was a happiness to *France*, since it deprived the King of an object for which he was about to loose both himself and his Estate. His grief was as great as his love had been: yet he, not being of those feeble souls who please themselves in perpetuating their sorrows, and in bathing themselves in their tears, received not onely those comforts he sought, but still conserved for the Children, and particularly for the Duke of *Ven-*

The King comforts himself, & conserves an extream tenderness for her Children.

Part III. *dom*, that affection he had born the Mother.

All good French-men passionately desired that so good a King might leave legitimate Children. They durst not press him to take a Wife capable to bring him forth such, so long as *Gabriella* lived, for fear left he should espouse her: and out of the same fear, Queen *Margaret* would not give her consent to dissolve his marriage. But when *Gabriella* was dead, she willingly lent her hand to it; and her self addressed a Request to the holy Father to demand the dissolution, founding it principally on two causes of nullity. The first was the want of consent: for she alledged she had been forced to it by King *Charles* the *ix.* her Brother. The second, the Proximity of Kindred found between them in the third degree: for which she said there had never been any valuable Dispensation.

Queen *Margaret* presents a request to the Pope to dissolve her marriage.

In like manner the Lords of the Kingdome and the Parliament besought his Majesty by solemn Deputations, that he would think of taking a Wife: representing to him the inconveniencies and the danger wherein *France* would be found, if he should die without Children. These Deputations will not seem strange to those who know our ancient History; where it may be seen, that neither the King nor his Children married but by the advice of his Barons: and this passed in that time for almost a Fundamental Law of the Estate.

The Lords and Parliament beseech the King to take a wife.

The

The King touched with these just supplications of his subjects, addressed his request to the Pope, containing the same reasons as that of Queen *Margaret*; and charged the Cardinal *d'Ossat*, and *Sillery* his extraordinal Ambassadour, whom he had sent to *Rome*, to pursue the judgement of the Pope concerning the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, to sollicite instantly this Affair. Part III. He presents his request to the Pope, as well as Queen *Margaret*.

The cause reported to the Consistory, the Pope gave Commission to the Prelates to judge it on the place, according to the rights of that Crown; which suffers not French-men to be transported for Affairs of the like nature beyond the Mountains, whither it would be almost impossible to bring the necessary proofs and witnesses. These Prelates were the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*, the Popes *Nuntio*, and the Archbishop of *Arles*; who having examined both Parties, seen the Proofs produced on one and the other, and the Request of the three Estates of the Kingdom, declared this marriage null, and permitted them to marry whom they should think fit. The Pope appoints Commissioners, who pronounce the dissolution of the marriage.

Queen *Margaret*, who for many years had deserted the King, and voluntarily shut her self up in the strong Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, had now permission to come to *Paris*, money given her to pay her debts, great Pensions, the possession of the Dutchy of *Valois*, with some other Lands, and right to bear still the Title of Queen. She lived yet fifteen years, and built a Palace near *du Pre-aux-Clercs*: After which, Queen *Margaret* comes to *Paris*.

Part III. which was after ſold to pay his debts, and demoliſhed to build other houſes. She loved extreamly good Muſitians, having a delicate Ear, and knowing and eloquent Men, becauſe ſhe was of a ſpirit clear and very agreeable in her diſcourſe. For the reſt, ſhe was liberal even to prodigality; pompous and magnificent; but ſhe knew not what it was to pay her debts. "Which is without doubt the great-"eſt of all a Princes fault, becauſe there is no-"thing ſo much againſt Juſtice, of which he "ought to be the Protector and Defender.

Her inclination.

1600. This marriage being diſſolved, *Bellievre* and *Villeroy*, fearing leſt the King ſhould engage himſelf in new loves, and be taken in ſome of thoſe ſnares which the faireſt of the Court ſtretched out for him, perſwaded him by many great Reaſons of State to fix his thoughts on *Maria de Medicis*, who was daughter to *Francis*, and Neece to *Ferdinand*, great Dukes of *Toſcany*.

Maria de Medicis demanded for *Hen.* 4.

The Cardinal *d' Oſſat* and *Sillery* made known his intention to the great Duke *Ferdinand* her Uncle: and *Alincour*, ſon to *Villeroy*, whom he had ſent to thank the holy Father for his good and brief Juſtice touching the aforeſaid diſſolution of his marriage, had order to teſtifie to him, that the King having caſt his eyes on all the Daughters of the Soveraign Houſes of *Chriſtendome*, had found no Princeſs more agreeable to him. The buſineſs was managed with ſo much activeneſs and vigilancy by the diligence of thoſe which had enterprized

prized it, that the King found himself absolutely engaged. The contract of the marriage was signed at *Florence* by his Ambassadors the fourth of *April*, in the year one thousand six hundred. And *Alincour* in seven days brought him the news to *Fountain-bleau*. He assisted at present at that famous Conference or Dispute between *James David du Perron* Bishop of *Evreux*, afterwards Cardinal, and *Philip du Plessis Mornay*; where truth nobly triumphed over falsehood. Part III.

The contract of the marriage at *Florence*, and the Nuptials Solemnized by *Proxy*.

There are particular relations of the solemnities made at *Florence*, the Magnificences of the great Duke, the Ceremonies of the Affiancing and Marriage of this Queen, of her Imbarking, her being convoyed by the Gallies of *Malta* and *Florence*, and her reception at *Marseilles*, at *Avignon*, and at *Lions*, and therefore I shall speak nothing of it.

Whilst the Marriage of *Florence* was treating, the King having a heart which could for no long time keep his liberty, became enslaved to a new object.

The King falls into the snares of Madam *d'Entragues* afterwards Marchioness of *Verneuil*.

It is to be understood that *Mary Touchet*, who had been Mistress to *Charles* the ninth, from whom came Issue the Count *d' Auvergne*, had been Married to the Lord *d' Entragues*, and had by him many children, amongst the rest a very fair daughter named *Henrietta*, who by consequent was sister by the mothers side to the Count of *Auvergne*. This Count was about the age of thirty years, and she about eighteen.

It

Part III. It is but too well known, that Flatterers and wicked Sycophants ruine all in the Courts of great Men, and corrupt likewiſe their perſons. "These are they which ſweeten "the poyſon, which embolden the Prince to "do ill, which make him familiar with vice, "which ſeek and facilitate occaſions for it; "and who act, as we may ſay, the myſtery of "*Satan* and of the Tempter. It is impoſſi- "ble to purge Courts from theſe plagues; "they inſinuate, maugre the utmoſt endea- "vours, into the Palaces of great ones; they "render themſelves agreeable by new di- "vertiſements; gain the ear by flattering pray- "ſes, by pleaſant and well-deviſed Fables "and Stories: and when they have gained "their entrance, they make their venome "ſlide into the heart, and impoiſon the ſouls "of the moſt innocent.

A good reflection concerning flatterers.

Our *Henry*, though ſo great a Prince as he was, had theſe people near him, who knowing his weakneſs as to women, inſtead of fortifying him againſt it, and reſtraining him like true friends, they ſpurred him (as it were) forward in his wickedneſs, and made their fortunes from his faults. It was theſe, who by commending the Beauties, the Carriage, the Spirit, and the divertizing and pleaſant diſcourſe of *Madamoiſelle d' Entragues*, made him firſt have a deſire to ſee and to love her. They could never have done a worſe Service for their Maſter then this. She had certainly many Charms, nor had ſhe leſs ſpirit and cunning.

cunning. Her refusals and modesty did more and more provoke the Kings Passion. Though he was not prodigal, he caused an hundred thousand crowns to be carried her at once. She refused them not, and reciprocally testified much love and impatience for so great a King: but she cunningly caused her Father and Mother to observe her so near, that she could not give him a full conveniency to speak to her. Part III.

The King gives an hundred thousand crowns to *Madamoiselle d' Entragues.*

Hereupon she let him understand, that she even dispaired that she could not keep her word with him; that it was necessary to have the consent of her Father and Mother, for which on her part she would labour. Afterwards, after many delays and put offs, she told him, that they could not be brought to so delicate a point, except, were it onely to secure their consciences towards God, and their honour towards the world, his Majesty would make her a promise of Marriage: That she had no desire to serve her self of such a writing; and that if she would do it, she knew well there was no Officer who durst cite a Man who had fifty thousand men of war at his command: but that these good people desired it should be so; and that he need make no difficulty to please their fancy, since he did but give her a little bit of paper in Exchange of the most precious thing she had in the world. In fine, she knew so well how to work his spirit, that he gave her a promise under his hand, by which he obliged himself

Her cunning to bring him to her designs.

She gets a promise of marriage from him.

Part III. ſelf to eſpouſe her in a year, ſo that in that time ſhe brought forth a Male-child.

Sully tears it, but the King makes another.

All this intrigue may be ſeen in the Memoires of *Sully*, where he ſays, that the King having led him alone into the firſt Gallery of *Fountain-bleau*, ſhewed him this promiſe written under his hand, and demanded his advice: That in ſtead of formally anſwering him concerning it, he tore it in two pieces: That the King remained quite aſtoniſhed, and ſpeaking angerly, *How! now I believe that you are a fool*: and that he anſwered, *It is true Sir that I am a fool, and could wiſh I were more ſo, ſo that I alone in* France *were one.* That at his departing from the Gallery, the King entred into his Cloſet, and demanded a pen and inke, and that he believed it was to write another. However it were, this promiſe cauſed much trouble afterward: for the Lady would have made it valid, as we ſhall ſpeak.

He purſues at *Rome* the decision of the *Marquiſate of Saluces.*

At the ſame time that the King purſued the diſſolution of his firſt marriage at *Rome*, he made likewiſe inſtance to the holy Father, that he would decide the difference concerning the reſtitution of the Marquiſate of *Saluces*, the Deciſion of which had been referred to him by the Treaty of *Vervin.*

How that *Marquiſate* appertained to him.

To underſtand this well, it muſt be known that this Marquiſate was a *Fief* dependant of the *Daulphinate*, of which King *Francis* the firſt had ſeized himſelf by right of reverſion, for default of heirs Males in the Succeſſion

Succeſſion of the Lords that held it. Now in 1588. during the Eſtates of *Blois*, the Duke of *Savoy* having advice that the League became very ſtrong in *France*, and that apparently that Monarchy would diſmember, ſnatched this Marquiſate, without having any ſubject of quarrel: he cloaked only this unjuſt uſurpation with this fair pretext, that he ſeized it out of fear leſt *Leſdiguieres* ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it, and by this means eſtabliſh *Hugonotiſm* in the midſt of his Territories. Part III.

How the Duke of *Savoy* ſeized it.

Seven years after, to wit, in the year 1595. the King being gone to *Lyons*, after the battail of *Fountain-franzoiſe*, the Duke, who foreſaw well he would again have this Marquiſate, propoſed to him ſome accommodation for it. The King offered to give it to one of his Sons, to hold it at faith and homage, with ſome other conditions; but the Duke demanded it without any dependance, and ſo this Negotiation was broken.

An accommodation ſpoke of.

He offers it to be held at faith & homage.

Our Ambaſſadors treating the general peace at *Vervin*, were not wanting inſtantly to demand the reſtitution of that *Fief*. Thoſe of the Duke who aſſiſted, alledged in favour of their Maſter, that piece appertained to him as being a *Fief* dependant of *Savoy*, and that he had more eſſential titles to prove that dependancy, which it was neceſſary to ſee, to decide the difference with knowledge of the cauſe. Now it would have taken up too much time to cauſe them to come from *Savoy*: And the

By the Treaty of *Vervin* the buſineſs is remitted to the Popes Arbitration

Part III. the Popes *Nuntio* preſſed the peace, for fear leſt during theſe delays ſome accident might happen to break it quite: ſo that not to retard it, it was judged convenient to refer to the Pope the deciſion of this affair, on condition that he ſhould terminate it in a year.

The *French* during that time ſollicited ſtrongly at *Rome* to have it decided. The *Savoyards* defended it onely at extremity, and that for fear to loſe their cauſe by default. Both the one and the other produced their Titles: Thoſe of the *French* were the beſt, and moreover, they had had a peaceable poſſeſſion of more then ſixty years, which was more then ſufficient to gain preſcription. The year being expired, the Pope demands of the King the prolongation of two months, to give in his ſentence of Arbitration, and that in the mean time the Marquiſate ſhould be ſequeſtred in his hands. The King willingly conſents: but the Duke enters into a miſtruſt that the Pope would have it for one of his Nephews: ſo that his Ambaſſador having teſtified this miſtruſt, the Pope refuſes to meddle any farther, either with the Gage or with the Arbitration.

The Pope refuſes farther medling with the Arbitration, & why.

The Duke imagined that his beſt way was to uſe delays, ſince it might happen that either the *French* King would grow weary of following of this buſineſs, or that ſome other more important affair might divert his thoughts otherwhere. Moreover, knowing that there were many melancholy ſpirits,

The Duke of *Savoy* ſtrives to gain time.

who

who could not be recovered out of that opinion that the King was ſtill in his heart a *Hugonot*, and with them many concealed and dangerous enemies, ſo that no year paſſed but with many conſpiracies againſt his perſon, he hoped that in the end ſome of them might ſucceed. In effect, that year there had been three diſcovered, of which that which made moſt noiſe was of a woman, who offered to the Count of *Soiſſons* to poiſon him; but the Count diſcovered it, and ſhe was buried alive in the *Greve*. Part III.

He would come to *France* to confer with the King.

To the end therefore to gain time, he deſired to come himſelf into *France*, having ſo good an opinion of his own cunning and ſlights, that he aſſured himſelf he ſhould obtain of the King the gift of this Marquiſate; or at leaſt he pretended to make ſuch propoſitions, and to employ ſo many artifices, that there ſhould paſs more then a year before he ſhould untangle them. He ſaid that his Ambaſſador had ſent him word, that he had heard the King ſay, that if they were together, they would decide this difference like friends; and that it was this good word had ſet him on his voyage. But many ſuſpected, and that with ſome appearance, that he had a deſign to gain ſome people in the Kings Council, to ſound the affections, and obſerve and watch the diſcontented; to caſt abroad ſeeds of corruption and diviſion, and renew that intelligence might be uſeful to him at Court. Others imagined

Part III. imagined that he was discontented with *Spain*, because *Philip* the second having given the Low-Countries in Dower to his youngest Daughter, he had left to the eldest, wife of this Duke, only a Crucifix and an Image of our Lady. Moreover, he had indeed received some displeasures from the Ministers of *Spain*; and he spread a report abroad, were it true or not, that he had undertaken this voyage without communicating any thing to *Philip* the third his Brother-in-law. In fine, every one judged according to his fancy; and possibly none divined the secrets of his thoughts, there being never any Prince more close or less penetrable then he. And some said his Heart was covered with mountains, as well as his Country; that is, because that he was Hulch-back't, as *Savoy* was mountainous.

What might be the motives of his voyage.

His Train.

He brought with him a Train which well set forth his degree: for he had with him twelve hundred horse: but all his Officers were clad in mourning, by reason of the death of his Wife; which many took as an ill presage.

The King causes him to be well received every where.

The King desiring to receive him according to his dignity, commanded all the Cities and the Governours to render him the same honour as if he were there in person.

He passes *Lyons*.

He came to *Lyons* by the River of *Roan*, and was received by *la Guiche* Governour of that City. But the *Chapiter* of *St. John* would not give him the place of Canon and Count of that Church, because he no longer possessed the County of *Villars*, by virtue of which the

the Counts of *Savoy* had been at other times received. Adding to this, that he had not his Titles, nor would give time to make proof of his Nobility; of which the Chapiter dispences not with any whatsoever beside our Kings. Part III.

From *Lyons* he came to *Roanna*, descended by water to *Orleans*, and after came post to *Fontain-bleau*, where the King was. He arrived the twentieth of *December*; accompanied with seventy horse: and presently to acquist confidence with him, he lamented highly against the *Spaniards*; discovered, or feigned to discover to him his most secret thoughts, and a designe he had to drive them out of *Italy*. He told him his friends, his ways, and his intelligences for that: he would make him believe that he would open his heart to him; that he was an absolute French-man, and desired to fix himself to the interests of *France* without reserve. The King hearkned to him with attention, and thanked him for his good thoughts: but after all, he finished with this: *I am of opinion that we should decide first those affairs between us, and then talk of others.* Three days after, the King went to *Paris*, where they were to discourse more amply on the subject had brought him into *France*.

Arrives at *Fontain-bleau* where the King is

His address to gain confidence with the King,

who is as subtile as himself;

and carries him to *Paris*.

Now was the beginning of the last year of the fifteenth Age, which is counted the One thousand six hundredth, celebrated for the Centenary *Jubilee*, which was opened at *Rome*. There were found there four and twenty

Overture of the Centenary Jubilee at *Rome*.

Part III. thousand *French*; some moved by devotion, others by curiosity: among which, there was a good number of *Huguenots*, who went to see the great Ceremony. They might do it with all security: for during the great *Jubilee*, the Inquisition ceases at *Rome*; where at other times it is much less rigorous then in *Spain*. The Duke of *Bar* was in a concealed habit at this *Jubilee*: he went to demand absolution of the holy Father; but his submission, how great soever, could not obtain it; nor had he it till the death of Madam *Katherine* his Wife.

Great Demonstrations of friendship between the King and Duke.

The beginning of this year beheld the King and the Duke of *Savoy* live with so much familiarity, and so many proofs of friendship, that it was believed that they had both but the same heart. The *French* Courtesie and Civility obliged the King to give the Duke all sorts of good Treatments; and the desire which the Duke had to obtain from him the Marquisate, moved him to a great Complacency, and to seek all means to render himself agreeable to so great a King. The Court of *France* avowed it had never seen a more perfect Courtier; the Ladies, a more pleasing Gallant; and the Officers of the King and the great ones, a Prince more liberal. He knew how to govern himself in such manner with the King, that he neither acted his Companion nor his Servant: and if he would appear inferiour to him in Grandeur, he endeavoured to be superiour to him in Generosity and Liberality:

How the Duke lived in the Kings Court.

lity: he gave with full hands, eſpecially to the principal men of the Court. The King permitted them to accept his preſents, and on his ſide gave very great ones to the Duke: he treated him, and made the Chiefs of the Court treat him; every day ſhewing him ſome new ſubject of divertiſement. Among other things, he deſired that he ſhould ſee his Parliament; which our Kings have uſually ſhewn to ſtrange Princes, as a *Compendium* of their greatneſs, and the place where their Majeſty ſits with the greateſt ſplendour. They went together into the * Lantern of the great Chamber, where they with great delight heard pleaded a very ſingular Cauſe, choſen of purpoſe; and the ſentence or agreement pronounced by *Harlay* firſt Preſident; a Perſonage ſo grave and ſo eloquent, that all which came from his mouth ſeemed to come from that of Juſtice her ſelf. Part III.

The King ſhews him his Parliament.

* *A place I ſuppoſe ſo called, which looked into the Parliament-Houſe, and where they might ſee and not be ſeen.*

There was no Civility or Courteſie which the King ſhewed not to the Duke: but after all, he releaſed not to him the Marquiſate. The Duke tryed the buſineſs all ways poſſible; ſometimes he offered to hold it in homage from the Crown; ſometimes he propoſed to the King his great Deſignes on the *Milanois*, and on the Empire; ſometimes he laid before him the platform of a puiſſant League to deſtroy the *Spaniard* in *Italy*. But the King was too wiſe * to be gulled by gilded ſhadows: he

Yet the King releaſes not to him the Marquiſate

* *The French hath wrong Det*

it, Prendre le Change, *which is taken for flying out at a like hounds of Riot.*

Part III. answered, That he had no ambition to conquer the Estate of another, but onely to recover his own: That he would not speak of this Affair to the Duke, but that they ought refer that to their Council. In effect, they named some persons, who conferred together: but those of the King insisting dayly on its restitution, and the Duke endeavouring to free it to himself, nothing was concluded.

Yet though all hopes were wanting to the Duke of obtaining any thing, he lost not at all his Courage, but trusted to the secret intelligences he had renewed with some great ones of the Court, and particularly with the Duke of *Byron*. Many believe that he began now to debauch him; and that to this effect he served himself of one named *Laffin*, a Gentleman of *Bourgongne*, of the house of *Beauvais la Nocle*; but the most pernicious and most trayterous Fellow that could be found in *France*; he making a Trade of carrying Tales from one to another. The King knew him well; and often seeing him very familiar with *Byron*, he had the goodness to tell the Marshall more then once, *Let not that man approach you; he is a plague; he will ruine you.*

The Duke not succeeding, it is believed he endeavoured to debauch *Byron* by the means of *Laffin*.

The Duke knew that *Byron* loved the King, because he had raised him to the greatest Dignities of his Realm; and that the Prince likewise honoured him with his Good-will. It was therefore necessary to make him loose this affection, to render him capable of any evil designe.

Byron

Byron was without doubt brave and valiant to the utmoſt; but ſo puft up with his Gallantry, that he could not ſuffer any perſon to equal him. After the peace of *Vervin*, not having any thing more to do, he continually boaſted of his great Actions: according to his own words, he had done all: and he intoxicated himſelf in ſuch manner with his own praiſe, that he raiſed his own Valour above the Kings. He believed that he ought him his Crown, that he could refuſe him nothing, and that he ſhould govern him abſolutely. Theſe Bravadoe's pleaſed not the King; he was troubled that his Subject ſhould think that he equalled him in Valour; but much more, that he ſhould have the preſumption to hope to govern him, who had ten times more brains and good judgement then the Marſhal. Part III.

The vanities of *Byron* become inſupportable

He eſteems himſelf more then the King,

who takes diſguſt at it.

"It is certainly a noble Ambition, and not "onely well placed, but abſolutely neceſſary "for a King, to believe none of his Subjects "more worthy then himſelf. When he hath "not this good opinion of himſelf, he lets "himſelf be governed by him whom he be"lieves a more able man then himſelf; and by "this means ſoon falls into Captivity: there"fore though he may be deceived, he ought "ſtill to eſteem himſelf the moſt capable per"ſon to govern in his whole Realm. I may "ſay rather, that he cannot deceive himſelf in "this, becauſe there is no perſon more proper "then himſelf, however ignorant he be to "rule his Eſtate, God having deſtined this

A good and important Reflection.

Part III. "Function to him, and not to others; and "the people being always disposed to receive "Commands when they come out of a sacred "Mouth.

Henry the Great had therefore taken some disgust against the Marshal of *Byron* by reason of his vanity; so that the Duke of *Savoy*, praising one day the Noble Actions and great Services of *Byron*, both Father and Son, the King answered, "*That it was true, they had* "*served him well, but that he had taken great* "*pains to moderate the drunkenness of the Fa-* "*ther, and the violent passions of the Son.* The Duke remembred these words, and caused them to be carried by *Laffin* to *Byron*, who, touched in his most sensible part, was transported to a thousand extravagancies; and having lost all respect, lost likewise that affection he had left for the King. It hath been suspected that he at present abandoned himself to all manner of wicked designes, and that he promised to enter into a League which the *Savoyard* was to make with the King of *Spain*, on condition that he gave him his Daughter in marriage, and assisted him to make himself Duke of *Bourgongne*.

The Duke causes to be carried to *Byron* some disadvantagious words of the Kings.

After that the Duke of *Savoy* had remained more then two moneths in the Court of *France*, shewing, as the Proverb says, *A merry Countenance at an ill game*; and shadowing his discontent with an apparent joy, but not knowing how to return without shame, nor how to stay longer without any fruit: The King,

King, who would not give him ſubject to ſay that he had treated him with the utmoſt rigour, gave him to underſtand, that if the Marquiſate was ſo commodious to him, and that he could not reſtore it without a notable inconveniency, he would be content to take *la Breſſe* in exchange. This Condition ſeemed no leſs hard to the Duke then that of the reſtitution of the Marquiſate: however, that he might have ſome pretext to retire with honour, he ſeemed not averſe to it; and there were ſome Articles drawn up, which he profeſſed were not diſagreeable to him: But he demanded time to conſider of the Alternative of the Reſtitution or Change, and to take advice of the Grandees of his Eſtate on ſo important a thing. There were granted him to this purpoſe three entire moneths, which was to the end of *February* in the year ſixteen hundred. Part III.

The King propoſes to the Duke the exchange of the Marquiſate for *la Breſſe*.

The Duke ſeems not averſe, but takes three moneths to conſider.

A little after he took leave of the King, who conducted him to *Pont de Charenton*; and gave order to the Baron of *Lux*, and to *Praſlin*, to accompany him to the Frontier. He returned by *Champagne* and *Bourgongne*, from which he entred *la Breſſe*, and went to the *Bourg*. They had great joy to ſee him arrived, becauſe they feared leſt he ſhould be arreſted in *France*. Indeed ſome there were would have counſelled the King to have kept him till ſuch time as he ſhould reſtore the Marquiſate: but the King, much offended at this Propoſition, anſwered in anger, *That they ſtudied to diſhonour*

He takes leave of the King, who accompanies him to *Charenton*.

Some had counſelled the King to arreſt him.

The Kings noble Anſwer.

Part III. *nour him; but that he ſhould chuſe rather to looſe his Crown, then to incur the leaſt ſuſpition of having falſified his Faith, even to the greateſt of his enemies.*

The three months expired, the King preſſes the Duke to chuſe either the change or the reſtitution.

The three moneths being expired, and the Duke not having ſatisfied his promiſe, the King was troubled, and preſſed him to reſolve either on the one or the other interchange. The Duke finds new delays, but promiſes him dayly that he will ſatisfie him. In the mean time he remonſtrates to the Council of *Spain* the danger in which he was; that the loſs of the Marquiſate would put him in ſuch an eſtate, that he ſhould not have the power to ſerve the *Spaniards*: that it would open a door to the *French* to go trouble *Italy*; and that this tempeſt, after having laid waſte his Country, would fall upon *Milain*. The Council of *Spain* apprehended well the importance; but acting very ſlowly, were a long time before they reſolved. In fine, the Count of *Fuentes*, Governour of *Milain*, had order, but two moneths later then was neceſſary puiſſantly to aſſiſt this Prince. He came to this effect to *Milain*, but too late; where, with two Millions of Gold which were ready, he begins to make great preparations.

The Duke preſſes the Council of *Spain* to help him.

The Count of *Fuentes* comes to this purpoſe to *Milain*, but too late

After that the Duke had by divers Artifices drawn out the Negotiation almoſt two moneths longer, the King, wearied with theſe delays, prepared himſelf to bind this *Proteus*, who changed himſelf into all ſorts of forms; and to force him to give a certain anſwer.

ſwer. He advanced to *Lyons*, whither he had before ſent his Council. The Duke, knowing that he approached, had recourſe to other cunnings: he ſent to him three Ambaſſadours, who conjoyntly propoſed an Act, by which they declared that their Maſter was ready to accompliſh the Treaty made at *Paris*; and that he promiſed to reſtore the Marquiſate: but he of the three who had the ſecret, refuſed to ſigne the Articles till firſt the Duke had ſhewed them to his Council, and ſigned them. By this trick the Duke yet gained ſeven or eight days time: but the King reſolved to preſs him to a concluſion, ſtill followed his trace, diſcovered his deceits, and left him no further ſubterfuge: he was forced therefore to anſwer poſitively; and he promiſed to ſurrender the Marquiſate by the ſixteenth of *Auguſt*.

Part III.

The King again preſſes the Duke to chuſe the change or reſtitution

He promiſes poſitively to ſurrender the Marquiſate.

Upon this aſſurance, the King cauſed to advance *le Bourg-l' Eſpinaſſe*, an old Colonel of Infantry, with the Troops of the *Suiſſes*, to take poſſeſſion of the Marquiſate. As he approached, the Duke took off his Mask, and anſwered clearly, That according to the Conditions propoſed, War was leſs ſharp to him then Peace. Wherefore the King was obliged to come to that point to which he had long foreſeen he ſhould come, to wit, an open War: he declared it therefore on the eleventh of the moneth of *Auguſt*; but with theſe expreſs terms, That he did it onely for the Marquiſate, and without prejudice to the Treaty

But when the King ſends his forces, he takes off his mask, and refuſes

The King declares war againſt him.

Part III. Treaty of *Vervin*, which he desired to observe inviolably.

He gives advice of it to the neighbouring Princes

At the same time he gave advice of this rupture to all the neighbouring Princes, and made them understand the just reasons he had. "This great King knew well, that among "Christians the breach of peace is extreamly odious; and that without reasons, which "strongly convince our spirits, we ought never to trouble the publick tranquillity.

He was at present at *Grenoble*, where he had to begin this War only three or four Companies of Ordinance. Some proposed to him, to cause his Regiment of Guards to advance: he answered, that he would not send them from him; that they were the tenth Legion, which never fought without * *Cæsar*. But in a little time the *French* Nobility and the Adventurers flocked to him on all sides, as as if they had come to a Marriage or a Ball.

* *Julius Cæsar would never let the tenth Legion fight but with him.*

Byron conquers all *la Bresse*.

The Marshal of *Byron*, though already disgusted, having gathered some Troops, spoiled the Country of *Bresse* in many places: with his Canon he forced the City of *Bourg*; but the Cittadel defended it self better, and proved indeed the onely difficulty in this War. *Crequy* entring into *Savoy*, gained the City of *Montmelian* about midnight, but not the Castle.

The Pope Alarm'd at this War sends to the King.

The Pope Alarm'd by the first sparkles of this fire, and fearing left it should enflame all *Italy*, imployed himself immediately to extinguish

tinguiſh it: he diſpatcht a Prelate, who bore the title of Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, to remonſtrate unto him the inconveniences of this rupture, and to conjure him in the name of God not to paſs farther. The King aſſured him that he had no deſign to trouble the peace of *Italy*; that he was a Chriſtian and juſt Prince; that God had given him a Kingdom ſufficient to content him, but that he deſired to have what belonged to his Crown; that if he had had other more vaſt deſigns, he had made greater preparations. Part III.

The King's good and Chriſtian anſwer.

Few days after he departed, and entred himſelf into *Savoy*. His preſence ſo much aſtoniſhed the City of *Chamberry*, that they made the Gariſon depart by a quick Capitulation. He made himſelf after maſter of *Taremaiſe* and *la Morienne*, by taking in two or three days the City of *Conflans*, and that of *la Charbonniere*; which till then had paſſed for impregnable.

The King enters *Savoy*.

Yet the Duke of *Savoy* moved not: he was ſo little concerned, that he Hunted and Danced whilſt his Provinces were deſpoiling: he ſeemed not to be the adverſary but the ſpectator: his ſubjects likewiſe ſeemed not much aſtoniſhed at the Kings Progreſs; they ſaid, that if he took any places in *Savoy*, their Duke would take others in *France*. It could not be divined from whence this great ſecurity proceeded: ſome believed that the Duke aſſured himſelf on I know not what Prognoſtications of Aſtrologers, who had foretold, that

Yet the Duke ſtirs not.

He truſts ſome vain predictions of Aſtrologers.

Part III. that in the month of *August* there ſhould be no King in *France:* that which happened to be very true, for at that time he was victorious in the midſt of *Savoy*. Others believed that the Duke yet truſted to the intelligences he had with the Marſhal of *Biron*, whoſe fidelity much ſhaken by his artifices while he was in *France*, was now near entirely debauched by thoſe grand Subjects of diſcontent this Marſhal had received ſince this War. For the King teſtified, that he put not ſo much truſt in him, nor treated him with the ſame freedome he had done before; and he committed the principal direction of this Conqueſt to *Leſdiguieres*, who indeed better knew the Country, and the manner of making War in thoſe Mountains then he. This Preference furiouſly incenſed ſuch a high ſpirit, who believed nothing either could or ought to be done without him. Afterwards the refuſals of the King to give him the Government of the City of *Bourg*, put him quite out of his ſenſes. From this time he had none but extravagant and criminal thoughts, and began, as it was ſaid, to treat a League with the *Savoyard*, for the re-kindling a new Civil War in *France*. I cannot relate the particulars of this deſign, becauſe they were never well known.

or to *Byron*, much incenſed againſt the King.

The Duke of *Savoy* believed his Fortreſſes of *Montmelian* in *Savoy*, and of *Bourg* in *Breſſe* impregnable, repoſing the ſecurity of his Country upon them. He was much ſurprized

prized to underſtand that the Marquis of *Brandis* Governour of the firſt, had capitulated to ſurrender it in a certain time. Upon it, he put himſelf in the field, and uſed all his endeavours to get into an eſtate to relieve it. He had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniards*; but the Count of *Fuentes*, who deſired to engage affairs farther, refuſed him forces in his need, and in the mean time the term of the capitulation being finiſhed, he loſt *Montmelian*, to the great aſtoniſhment of his Subjects, and no leſs ſhame to *Brandis*. Want of Victuals and Ammunition, made him likewiſe in ſome weeks loſe the Citadel of *Bourg*, which the Governour held out to the laſt extremity. Part III.

In fine, the Duke takes the field, but does nothing.

The Citadel of *Montmelian* taken,

and that of *Bourg*.

The King paſſing by the ſide of *Geneva*, ſubmitted the Country of the *Chablais* and the *Fauſſigni*. The inhabitants of *Geneva* took the Fort of St. *Katherine*, which the *Savoyards* had built to annoy them, and demoliſhed it. After the taking of this, the King would viſit *Geneva*, ſo famous for being one of the Ramparts of the Proteſtant Religion. *Theodorus Beza* the chief as well in age as in Doctrine of all the *Hugonot* Miniſters, made him a Speech in few words. The *Marſhal de Biron* having conſidered the place which the inhabitants had been forty years fortifying, with great care and expence, whether to make himſelf eſteemed a great Captain, or to ſhew the great zeal he had for the *Catholick* Religion, boaſted he could take it in twenty

and fort St. *Katherine*.

The King viſits *Geneva*.

twenty days. A ſpeech the King was not pleaſed with, becauſe *France* had taken it under its Protection, ſince the Reign of *Francis* the firſt; and was obliged to defend it againſt the Duke of *Savoy*, who pretended that Seignory belonged to him.

The Pope endeavours a peace, and ſends to that purpoſe his Nephew Legat.

In the mean time, the Pope deſiring above all things to extinguiſh the fire of this War, had diſpatched towards the King and towards the Duke, his Nephew the Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, who inceſſantly laboured to make a peace. His greateſt difficulty was to find knots ſtrong and ſure enough to hold the Duke of *Savoy*; for thoſe of his promiſes and his faith, were ſo uncertain and ſo ſlippery, that he could not truſt them.

The King comes to *Lyons*, where his Queen expected him.

At the ſame time the King, whoſe thoughts of his marriage the War had not interrupted, imbarqued on the *Rhone*, and went down to *Lyons*; where the Queen his new Spouſe was arrived, and expected him.

The Legat likewiſe comes, and the Ambaſſadors of *Savoy*.

The Legat would not diſcontinue the Treaty of peace, he followed him to *Lyons* for that purpoſe; where he made his entrance fifteen days after the Queen. The Ambaſſadors of *Savoy* followed him: but their power was given in ſuch terms, that the Duke might find ways to diſavow it. However, when they ſaw the Citadel of *Bourg* reduced to extremity, they inſtantly ſollicited the Legat to renew the firſt earneſts of the Treaty. But he would do nothing till they had given it him in writing, that they beſought it for

the

the good of their Masters affairs. Part III.

When the Articles were drawn up and agreed, they were signed on the one part and the other; and the peace was published at *Lyons* the seventeenth of *January* 1601. by which the Duke yeilded to the King, and to his Successors Kings of *France*, the Country and Seignories of *Bresse*, *Bugey*, and *Veromey*, and generally all that appertained to him lying along the River *Rhone*, from the egress of *Geneva*; as likewise the Bailiwick and Barony of *Gex*: and that in exchange of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, which the King absolutely left to him, both for himself and his. The Treaty agreed likewise, that all the places taken by the King from the Duke of *Savoy*, should be restored; but all the Kings pretended rights against the said Duke, should be reserved to him; according as was contained in the Treaties of *Cateau* in *Cambresis*, and of *Vervin*. 1610. The peace agreed, signed and published at *Lyons*.

By this exchange, both the one and the other equally gained. The King for a Marquisate of little extent, distant from all his Territories, and encompassed by those of *Savoy*, and which he could not keep but by great Garisons, which would consume twice more then the Revenue it yeilded; gained a Country of more then twenty five Leagues extent, which was bounding upon his, which enlarged his Frontier, in which he had eight hundred Gentlemen, and which was very fertil and abundant, principally in pastures to nourish Cattel. They both gain by the exchange.

Part III. Cattel. The Duke appropriating to himself the Marquisate, took a troublesome Thorn out of his foot, or rather a Sword which pierced through his body; and put himself in security. For whilst the *French* held it, he durst not go out of *Turin* but with three or four hundred horse for his Convoy; and he was forced to maintain great Garisons in the midle of his Country.

After, the King goes to *Paris* followed by the Queen. He carries her to see his buildings.

The Treaty being signed, the King departed from *Lyons* by Post, to return to *Paris*; whither the Queen followed him by little journies. Some time after her arrival, he led her to see his buildings of St. *Germain* in *Laye*. This was one of his delights, and certainly a very innocent one, and which agrees well with a powerful Prince, after he hath paid his great debts, and eased his people of their heavy load of oppressive Impositions. "For by raising these proud Edifices, he "leaves the fair marks of his greatness and "riches to posterity; he embellishes his "Kingdom, attracts the admiration of his "people, makes strangers know that his Cof-"fers swell with Treasure, gives life and "bread to a great number of poor handy-"crafts-men, labours profitably for his own "conveniency and for that of his Successors; "and in fine, makes Architecture, Sculpture, "and painting flourish, which have ever "beeen infinitely esteemed by all the most "Polite nations of the world.

Our

Our *Henry* took not this divertiſement, but to recreate his ſpirit after labours, and not to imploy it. "For he had his ſoul too great, "and his genius too elevated, to dedicate it ſelf "wholly to ſuch mean things, much leſs to fix "it on vain amuſements. It is true, that he "built, that he hunted, that he was merry; "but this was without diverting himſelf too "much from his affairs, without abandoning "the helme of his eſtate, which he held as "firmely and diligently during the Calme, as "during the Tempeſt. Part III. He divertiſed, but never employed himſelf about buildings. *An excellent reflexion.*

Moreover, he had a care not to grow ſleepy whilſt it was fair weather, which is often deceitful: for beſides that a good King ought to labour within his Eſtate during peace, as well as without during war; he knew that the *Spaniard* and the *Savoyard* ſtill grumbled, and contrived in their hearts ſome enterprize againſt him. The Count of *Fuentes* having raiſed a great army to aſſiſt the *Savoyard*, was troubled that the peace had deprived him of the occaſion to employ them. Some places he had taken in *Picardy* during the War between the two Crowns, had created a vanity in him, and made him believe that he ſhould alwaies gain the advantage over the *French*. At the ſame time the King of *Spain* had put to ſea a Naval Army, commanded by one *Doria*; which had without doubt ſome deſigne on *Provence*, if the peace had not been made. And though it was concluded, *Fuentes* ceaſed not to make an attempt of an enterprize upon *Marſeilles*, Count *Fuentes* would ſurprize *Marſeilles* to break the peace.

Part III. *Marseilles*, to cause a rupture. Those with whom he held intelligence to this purpose, offered the King to draw six or seven hundred men into the snare, and keep them prisoners; or cut them in pieces. But the King judged not so little advantage to countervail the giving subject to the enemies to break the peace, and to re-enter into a War; which might have proved very dangerous, they being so powerfully Armed. Moreover, he feared lest there were still in his Estate some fire concealed under the embers; which on the noise of a War, might more facilely make their attempts upon his person. For to tell the truth, he had more reason to fear their Knives and Daggers then their Swords. He therefore wisely dissembled this enterprize, and answered the *Marseillians*: *That he knew not how to steal a victory; that ambuscadoes were not honest, but onely during War; and that it was necessary for his honour to take heed that he did not in any manner contribute to that rupture, the enemies had a design to make.*

His people might be intrapped by counter-intelligence; but the King will not,

In fine, the *Spaniards* having found that this wise *Argus* had too many eyes, and too much vigilance to be surprized on any side; resolved to employ their Arms in pious and honorable enterprizes. A part of their Land-Army passed into *Hungary*, which was at that present assaulted by the *Turks*. The Duke of *Mercœur* being gone to seek in that Country a juster glory, then in the Civil-wars of *France*, commanded the Emperours forces.

The *Spaniards* turn their Arms against the Infidels.

The Duke of *Mercœur* commands the Emperours forces and dies.

He

He made known to the Infidels, by many gallant exploits, particularly by the memorable retreat of *Canise*, that the *French* valour was chosen by God to sustain the Christian Religion. Nor was there any doubt made, but that he would have quite chased them out of that Kingdom, of which they had invaded more then one half, if he had not died the year following of a burning Feavour, which seized him at *Nuremboung*, as he was about to go pay his devotions at the Shrine of the Lady of *Loretto*. Part III.

There arrived some time after an accident by which the King took occasion to let the *Spaniards* know, that he could not suffer any thing against his honours, nor against the dignity of his estate. *Rochepot* was his Embassador in *Spain*. Some Gentlemen of his train, of which one was his Nephew, washing in the River chanced to have a quarrel with some *Spaniards*; and killing two, saved themselves in the Ambassadors house. The friends of the slain so much excited the people, that they besieged the house, and were ready to put fire to it. The Magistrate, to prevent the Tragick effects of this fury, was constrained to do an injustice, and to violate the freedom of the Ambassadors house; for he seized by force, and led the accused to prison. The King of *Spain* being troubled that he had violated the right of Nations, sent him to demand pardon of the Ambassador; yet the *French* men still remained prisoners.

Gentlemen of the Ambassador of *France* in *Spain*, kill some *Spaniards*.

The Magistrate violates the freedom of the Ambassadors house, and takes them out.

Part III.

Discourse of the freedom of Ambassadors Palaces.

There were made many discourses and writings concerning the rights and priviledges of Ambassadors. It is true, said they, that an Ambassador hath alone right of Soveraign Justice in his Palace; but the people of his train are subject to the Justice of the estate in which they are, for those faults they commit out of his Palace; and so if they be taken out of it, their Process may be made: and though it be known that this rigour is not generally observed, and that the respect born to the Ambassadors person, extends to all those that follow him; yet however this is a courtesie, and not a right. But notwithstanding it is not permitted to go seek the Criminal in the Palace of the Ambassador, which is a sacred place, and a certain Sanctuary for his people; yet ought it not however to be abused, or made a retreat for wicked persons, nor give Sanctuary to the Subjects of a Prince against the Laws and Justice of his Realm: for in such cases, on complaint to his Master, he is obliged to do reason.

The King being offended, recals his Ambassador.

Now the King being offended, as he ought to be, at the injury done to *France* in the person of his Ambassador, and not judging the satisfaction the Magistrate had given him sufficient; commands him immediately to return; which he did, without taking leave of the King of *Spain*. He forbade likewise at the same time, all Commerce with *Spaniards*: and foreseeing that in these beginnings of the rupture, they might enterprize somewhat on the

the Towns of *Picardy*, he with great diligence departed from *Paris* to visit that Frontier, and came to *Calais*.

Part III. And goes in haste to *Calais* to visit his Frontier.

The people, who began to taste the sweetness of repose, and to Till their lands with patience, tremtled for fear lest a new War should expose them once more to the License of the Souldiers. But God had pity of these poor people: The Pope becoming mediatour to remedy those mischiefs which threatned *Christendom*, happily accommodated the difference. The *Spaniard* remitted the Process and the Prisoners; whom his Holiness consigned some days after into the hands of the Count of *Bethune*, Ambassador for *France* at *Rome*; and the King afterwards sent an Ambassador into *Spain*, which was the Count of *Barraut*.

The Pope undertakes to accommodate the difference, and doth it.

Whilst the King was at *Calais*, whither as we have said he went, the Arch-Duke who was before *Ostend*, where he continued that Siege * the most famous that ever was since that of *Troy*, feared with some reason, lest the Kings approach should retard the progress of his enterprize, in which he had already lost so many men, so much time spent, so many Cannot shot, so much money, and such stores of Ammunition: he sent therefore to complement him, promising him on the part of *Spain* satisfaction for the violence done to the Lodgings of his Ambassador; but intreating him, that the besieged might not prevail themselves of this Conjuncture.

The Arch-Duke besieging *Ostend*, sends to complement the King.

* *This siege lasted three years, three months, and three days.*

Part III. The King who never let himself be overcome by Courtesie no more then by Arms, sent the Duke of *Aiguillon*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Mayenne*, to assure him that he desired to maintain the peace; that he was not advanced on the Frontiers but to dissipate some designs which were contriving, and that he hoped in the equity of the King of *Spain*, which he doubted not would do him reason.

The King returns the civility to the Arch-Duke.

VVhilst he was at *Calais*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent likewise to visit him, by my Lord *Edmonds* her principal Confident. For answer to which obliging civility, he caused the Marshal of *Byron* to pass into *England*, accompanied by the Count *d' Auvergne*, and the choice of all the Nobility of the Court, to represent to her the displeasure the King had, finding himself so near her, that he could not enjoy the sight of her.

The Queen of *England* sends likewise to complement him: and he answers it by *Byron*.

This Queen endeavoured by all means possible, to make known to the *French* her greatness and power. One day holding *Byron* by the hand, she shewed him a great number of heads planted on the Tower of *London*, telling him that in that manner they punished Rebels in *England*, and recounting to him the reasons she had to put to death the Earl of *Essex*, whom she had once so tenderly loved. Those who heard the discourse, remembred it afterwards, when they saw the Marshal *Byron* fallen into the same misfortune, and lose his head, after having

To whom she shews the Earl of *Essex* head

having loſt the favour of his King. Part III.

WVe muſt not forget, how that before the King made his voyage to *Calais*, he had led the Queen with him to enjoy the *Jubilee* in the City of *Orleans*, where the holy Father had ordained the Stations for *France* to begin. His piety which was ſincere and unfeigned, gave a fair Example to his people, who ſee him go to Proceſſions with great devotion, and pray to God with no leſs attention; his heart agreeing with his lips. He laid the firſt ſtone to the foundation of the Church of the holy Croſs at *Orleans*, which the *Hugonots* had miſerably thrown down, forty years before; and gave a conſiderable ſum of money to rebuild it.

The King & Queen enjoy the *Jubilee* at *Orleans*.

All *France* during this holy *Jubilee*, had inſtantly demanded of Heaven that it would be pleaſed to give them a *Daulphine*, to deliver them from thoſe misfortunes wherein they ſhould be plunged, if the King ſhould die without Male-children. Their vows were heard, and the Queen happily brought to bed of a Son at *Fontainbleau*, on the day of St. *Coſmo*, being the twenty ſeventh of *September*. They gave him at his Baptiſm the Name of *Lewis*, ſo ſweet and dear to *France* for the memory of the great St. *Lewis*, and of the good King *Lewis xii.* Father of the people. Afterwards was appropriated to him the ſurname of *Juſt*; and we at preſent believe his having been the Father of *Lewis the wiſe and victorious*, none of the leaſt worthy of his Ti-

The Queen brought to bed of a *Daulphine*, who is named *Lewis*, after ſurnamed *The Juſt*.

Part III. tles. His Birth was preceded by a great Earthquake, which happened some days before. The Birth was very hard, and the infant laboured till he was all of a purple-colour; which possibly ruined within the principal Organs of Health and good Constitution. The King invoking on him the Benediction of Heaven, gave him likewise his, and put his Sword in his hand, praying to God, *That he would give him the grace to use it onely for his glory, and for the defence of the people.* The Princes of the Blood which were with him in the Chamber of the Queen, all of them saluted the *Daulphine* one after another. I omit how expres Curriers carried this News into all the Provinces, the publick rejoycings throughout the whole Kingdome, particularly in the great City of *Paris*, who as much loved *Henry* the great, as they had hated his Predecessor; the Complements the King received on his part from all the Potentates of *Europe*; and the accustomed Present of the holy Father in like occasions, to wit, the blessed swathling bands, which he sent by *Seigneur Barbarino*, who was afterwards Cardinal and Pope, named *Urban* the *viii.*

The King gives him his blessing, and puts his sword in his hand.

Five days before, the Queen of *Spain* was brought to bed of her first Childe, which was a Daughter, whom at the Font of Baptism they named *Anne*. The *Spaniards* rejoyced no less then if it had been a Son: for in that Country the Females succeed to the Crown. Those amongst the *French* who penetrated far-

Birth of the Infanta of *Spain*, named *Anne*; who after espoused King *Lewis xiii.*

farthest into things to come, took likewise part in this joy, but for another reason, which was, that this Princess being of the same age with the *Daulphine*, it seemed that Heaven had made the one be born for the other, and that she ought one day be his Spouse; as in effect *Lewis xiii.* had this happiness, and *France* still possesses it; admiring in all occasions the rare Wisdom, the exemplary Piety, and heroick Constancy of this great Princess. Part III.

In acknowledgement of the grace which God had done to the King in giving him a *Daulphine*, which was the sum of his wishes, he redoubled his care and diligence to acquit himself well of what he ought to his Estate, to better, as he said, the succession of his Son. We will here recount some Establishments and Orders he made to that purpose. The King makes divers Orders for the good of the Estate.

Need of monies having obliged him during the Siege of *Amiens* to create Triennial Officers in his Revenues; when it was passed, he knew that there was no need of so many people to rifle his purse; and that it was impossible but some little should every day remain in the hands of every one of these: and therefore he suppressed these new Officers, and commanded that the ancient and Alternative ones should re-imburse the Triennial. From this suppression were excepted the Treasurers of the Exchequer, and those of casual Forfeitures or Fines. He suppresses the Triennial Officers for Revenues.

Rosny had so well bridled both the Gatherers and the Farmers, that they could no longer

Part III.

er devour those great Morsels they did heretofore. But this was not yet enough: they were in such manner gorged before he was Superintendent, that the King with infinite justice ordained a Tribunal, composed of a certain number of Judges chosen out of the Soveraign Courts, and called it, *The Chamber-Royal*; whom he charged to make an exact search of the misdemeanours of those who had managed the Kings monies. This Chamber made a great many disembogue: however, a great part found the means to escape them; some out of a Consideration of their Alliances, others by force of money, gaining those who were near the King, principally his Mistresses, and corrupting the Judges themselves. "So much is it true that Gold pierces "every where, and that nothing is proof a- "gainst this pernitious Metal. We need not "then wonder if those people filled their Cof- "fers as full as they could, since the fuller "they heaped them, the more facile was their "justification.

He establisheth a Chamber of Justice to call Treasurers and Collectors to account.

I have already said it, and I say it again, (for it cannot be too often nor too much observed) that there is no remedy to hinder this disorder, which is the greatest of all disorders in the Estate, and the cause of all others, save onely the vigilance and exactness of the King. "He must himself hold the strings of his purse, "have his eye still upon his Coffers, know "punctually what is in them, what comes out "of them; what ways his monies accrue, to

The onely remedy against their thefts.

"what

"what uſes they are employed, who are they Part III.
"that manage them: and above all, he muſt
"make them give a good account, as our *Hen-*
"*ry* did, that if they be honeſt men, they can-
"not be corrupted; and if they are knaves,
"not have the means to act their knavery.

He was made to know, that there were two other diſorders in his Realm which extreamly impoveriſhed it, and drew from it all the Gold and Silver. The one was the tranſportation of it to ſtrange Countries, into *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Switzerland*, where the little Potentates melted it, and made money of a baſer Alloy. The other, was the Luxury which conſumed likewiſe a great quantity in Embroyderies, Silver and Gold Lace on Cloaths, and no leſs in the gilding of Wainſcots and Chimnies, and divers Moveables.

The King prohibites the tranſport of gold or ſilver out of his Kingdome,

He made two ſevere Edicts, which prohibited theſe two abuſes. For the firſt, he renewed the ancient Orders concerning the tranſport of Gold and Silver; adding the puniſhment of the Halter to the Tranſgreſſors; and commanding all Governours to watch diligently the Obſervation of theſe his Prohibitions, and not to give any Paſs-ports to the contrary; otherwiſe he declared them partakers in ſuch Tranſports.

and wearing gold and ſilver lace, or gildings.

By the ſecond, he prohibited under the penalty of great Fines for the firſt time, and of impriſonment for the ſecond, the wearing of Gold and Silver upon Cloaths, or employing it in Gildings. This Edict was rigorouſly obſerved,

Part III. ved, because it excepted no person; the King himself submitting to the Law he made, and having looked with an ill Countenance on a Prince of the Blood who obeyed not this Reformation.

There was likewise expended a prodigious quantity of money in Silks; by the buying of which, all our money was gotten into strangers hands. The King seeing that, and considering that the use of these Stuffs was very good and commodious, thought it best to introduce the Manufacture into *France*; to the end the *French* might gain what was now gained by the strangers. To this purpose he gave order for the planting of a great number of white Mulberry-trees in those Countries where they would best thrive, and particularly in *Touraine*, to nourish Silk-worms; and that people should be provided who understood how to prepare the Webs, and put to work the labour of these pretious Caterpillers.

Introduces the manufacture of silk into *France*.

If care had been taken after his death to maintain this Order, and to extend it to other Provinces, it might have spared *France* more then five Millions, which it every year sends out to provide silk Stuffs: besides, a Million of persons, useless for other labours, as are old people, Maids and Children, might have gained a living by it, and the Employers more easily have afforded to pay the Imposts and Taxes out of the profit they had made of their industry.

There was yet a much greater mischief, which,

which, as we may say, dryed up the very Intrails of the Kingdom; this was the excessive Usury. The ill Husbands, that is to say, the greatest part of the Nobility, borrowed money at ten or twelve in the hundred. In which there was two great inconveniences. The first, That the Interests undermining by little and little in seven or eight years, dug up the foundations of the richest and most ancient Houses, which are, as we may say, the Props and Pillars that uphold the State. The second, That the Merchants finding this conveniency of laying out their money to so great profit, and without any hazard, absolutely abandoned all Commerce; "the streams of "which once dryed up, there must needs fol"low a famine of Gold and Silver in the King"dome: for *France* hath no other Mines then "its Traffick, and the distribution of its Mer"chandizes.

Part III.

The usury excessive in *France*, which caused the ruine of the best families, and the *Merchants* to abandon all traffick.

These Considerations obliged the King not onely to prohibit all Usuries, but lay a penalty of the Confiscation of the sum lent, and great Fines beside. Afterwards the Parliament deputed some Counsellours in all Provinces to make inquisition after Usurers, and to reduce all Interests or Hypothecated Rents to six and a half in the hundred. They were before at ten or twelve, as we have said. The reason of which was, because when they were constituted, money was much more scarce: now since it was extreamly multiplyed, since the discovery of the Indies, it was just to abate its in-

The King reduces interests to six in the hundred.

Part III. interests: And it was for this reason that it was afterwards put at six, and may possibly one day be reduced lower.

His great care to enrich his Kingdom.

Out of the same designe to enrich his people, and to bring abundance and plenty into his Kingdome, the King continually received all Proposals which might serve to enlarge Commerce, to bring Commodity to his people, and to till and make fruitful the most sterile places. He endeavoured as much as was possible to make Rivers Navigable. He caused to be repaired all Bridges and Causways, and the great Roads to be paved; knowing that whilst they are not well kept, Carriages find but a difficult passage, and Commerce is by that means interrupted. From whence happen the same disorders in the œconomy of an Estate, as doth in that of a mans body, when it findes Obstructions, and when the passage of the blood and spirits are not free.

When he passed through the Countries, he curiously regarded all things, took notice of the necessities and disorders, and immediately remedied all with a great diligence. Under his favour and protection were established in many places of the Kingdom Manufactures of Linen and Woollen Cloths, Laces, Iron-ware, and many other things.

He favours the establishment of manufactures.

After his example, the Burgesses repaired their houses which the War had ruined. The Gentlemen having laid by their Arms with onely a switch in their hand, dedicated themselves

After his example, all labour for their benefit.

ſelves to manage their Eſtates, and augment their Revenues. All the people were attentive to their work: and it was a wonder to ſee this Kingdom, which five or ſix years before had been, as we may ſay, a Den of Serpents and venemous Beaſts, being filled with Thieves, Robbers, Vagrants, Rake-hells and Beggers, changed by the diligence of the King into a Hive of innocent Bees; who ſtrove, as it were, with envy to each other, to give proofs of their induſtry, and to gather Wax and Honey. Idleneſs was a ſhame, and a kinde of Crime; and indeed it is, as the Proverb ſays, the Mother of all Vices. "*That ſpirit which takes no care* "*to employ it ſelf ſeriouſly in ſomething, is un-* "*profitable to it ſelf, and pernitious to the publick.* And for theſe Reaſons did the Provoſts in that time make diligent ſearch after Loyterers, Vagabonds, and idle perſons, and ſent them to ſerve the King in his Gallies, to oblige them perforce to work. Part III. Idleneſs puniſhed.

There is no happineſs ſo ſtable and aſſured, but it may be eaſily troubled: there arrived this year two things which might have overturned all *France*, had not the King in a good hour ſubverted them. 1602. The King remedies two things capable to overthrow *France*.

The Aſſembly of the Notables or Chiefs at *Rouen*, which was held in the year 1596. to raiſe money for the King to continue the War and pay his debts, had granted him, as we have ſaid, the impoſition of a *Sol pour livre* on all Merchandizes carried into walled Cities. "The Eſtate (ſays *Tacitus*, the greateſt Politi-

"tian

Part III. "tian among Hiſtorians) cannot be maintain-
"ed without Forces, nor the Forces without
"Payment, nor they paid without Impoſiti-
"ons: by conſequence therefore they are ne-
"ceſſary; and it is juſt that every one ſhould
"contribute to the expences of an Eſtate of
"which he makes a part, as well as partake of
"thoſe Conveniences and that protection it
"enjoys. But theſe impoſitions ought to be
"moderate, proportionate to the power of
"every one; and every one ought to bear his
"part. Moreover, it ſhould be eaſie to per-
"ceive that the expence of raiſing them ex-
"ceed not the principal; that they be not
"laid ſo, as to appear odious, as on Merchan-
"dizes which nouriſh the poor: and that, in
"fine, they be blood drawn gently from the
"veins, and not marrow forced from the
"bones. Now the impoſition of a *Sol pour livre*
was of this nature. It was very oppreſſive:
for in every City they ſearched the Merchants
Goods, opened their Bales, and ſaw what e-
very one brought: ſo that liberty was quite
loſt in the Kingdom. Moreover, it was ex-
ceſſive: for any Merchandize being ten or
twelve times ſold, it was found that it paid as
much Impoſt as it was worth. Moreover,
there was great expence in the ſale of it: for
men were forced to employ as many Factors
as would have compoſed an Army; who de-
ſiring all to make themſelves rich as well as
their Maſters, were ſo vexatious to the Mer-
chants, that they became deſperate. And that

The tax of a *Sol pour livre* burthenſome.

was

was most strange, was, that there were in the Kings Council Pensioners to these Farmers, who supported them in their violences, and upheld them against all Complaints made of their misdemeanours. Part III.

The people are always subject to this Criminal Errour, That when Justice is denied them, they may do it themselves; and have recourse to force, when their prayers cannot prevail. This is the cause of almost all seditions; and this is it which made all those beyond the *Loire*, incensed at this imposition, drive away the Factors, and, which is more, kill some of them. The Farmers on the other side sharpned the mischief by their furious threats, that they would dismantle the rebellious Cities, that they would build Citadels to keep them in awe. And I believe that these Gentlemen did desire it should be so, not out of love to the Kings Authority, which they had still in their mouths, but for their proper revenge, and particular advantage. It causes commotions in the Provinces.

The King having advice of these Commotions, fearing left they were raised by the Emissaries of the faction of the Duke of *Byron*, which he had then newly discovered, a little after *Easter* departed from *Fontainbleau*, came from *Blois*, and from thence to *Poictiers*. There he favourably hearkned to the complaints of his people, and remonstrated to the Deputies of the Cities of *Guyenne*, *That the Imposts raised were not to enrich his Ministers and Favourites, as his predecessour had done; but* The King to appease them, goes to *Poictiers*. His wise and just remonstance to the Deputies of *Guyenne*.

Part III. *but to support the necessary charges of his Estate: That if his demeans had been sufficient for it, he would not have taken any thing out of his Subjects purses; but since he had first employed all his * own, it was just they should contribute some of theirs: That he passionately desired the ease of his Subjects; and that none of his Predecessours had so much desired their prayers to God as he, to bless the increase of his Realm: That those Alarms given them that he had a designe to build Castles in the Cities, were false and seditious; for he desired to have no other Forts then in the hearts of his Subjects.*

* He had sold the Lands of his Patrimony.

He calms the seditions, and revokes the *Sol pour livre.*

By these sweet Remonstrances, he calmed all the seditions, without having need of chastising them, save onely that the Consuls of *Limoges* were deposed, and the *Pancarte* (for so it was they called the *Sol pour livre*) established. But this was onely for the honour of the Royal Authority: for soon after, this Prince, the most just and best that ever was, knowing the extream Vexations it caused, revoked and utterly abolished it.

Conspiracy of the Marshal *Byron.*

The second thing which gave him yet more trouble, and which was capable to overthrow his Kingdome if it were not remedied, was, The Conspiracy of Marshal *Byron.* It is to be understood, that *Laffin* had been the principal Instrument of intelligence between the Marshal and the Duke of *Savoy*: he had carried and re-carried Letters, and had had some Conferences with the Duke and with the Count of *Fuentes*; so that he understood the whole in-

trigue. But seeing that there was no assurance in the words of the *Savoyard*, and that *Byron* began to shake, he resolved to discover the whole plot to the King; were it that he feared lest if he should too long delay it, it might be discovered other ways; or that he hoped by this service to gain a great recompence, and restore himself to the Kings favour, with whom he stood on very ill terms. Part III.

Laffin discovers it to the King.

Having laid this designe, he employed the **Vidame* of *Chartres* his Nephew, to obtain from the King his Grace and Oblivion of all passed, on condition that he discovered to him the Complices of the Conspiracy, and furnished him with proofs. He had preserved several Letters committed to his keeping; but they said not enough, nor spoke so clearly as to make a Conviction. But to pass an absolute one, see what he did.

* Vidame *is a Lord who holds his Lordship in Fief of a Bishop.*

Byron had some Notes written with his own hand, wherein the Conspiracy was laid down in Articles. *Laffin* remonstrated to him, that it was an imprudence to keep them, and to communicate them, because his writing was too well known: that it would be more secure to make a Copy, and burn the Original. *Byron* approving his counsel, gives them him to transcribe. He indeed transcribes them whilst *Byron* lay on his Bed: afterwards giving him the Copy, and ruffling up the Original, he makes shew of casting it into the fire; but by a premeditated cunning, he casts in some other Papers, and keeps them. A thing of this

How he got the Notes written with *Byron's* own hand.

Part III. importance deserved well the care of *Byron* himself in its burning: but he not taking it, because God so permitted, that negligence cost him his life, as we shall see.

After this, *Lassin* continuing still his devices to endeavour yet to gather some more particular secrets, he went disguised to *Milan*, and conferred with the Count *Fuentes*: but this close and able *Spaniard*, finding well that he would betray them, shewed himself more reserved. It hath been reported, that *Lassin* having knowledge of this distrust, was fearful lest he should make him away, and therefore returned by the unusual and unfrequented ways: of which the Duke of *Savoy* being advertized by *Fuentes*, kept prisoner the Secretary of *Lassin* named *Renaze*, for fear lest he should go serve as a witness against *Byron*.

The Duke of *Savoy* keeps *Renaze Lassins* Secretary.

In their Conferences they had proposed to dismember the Kingdom of *France*: That the Duke of *Savoy* should have *Provence* and the *Daulphinate*; *Byron*, *Bourgongne* and *la Bresse*, with the third Daughter of the Duke in marriage, and fifty thousand Crowns for Dower: some others should be Lords of other Provinces, with the quality of Peers: That all these little Soveraigns should hold their right from the King of *Spain*: That to compass this designe, the *Spaniards* should with a puissant Army enter the Kingdom, and the *Savoyard* with another: That they should cause the *Hugonots* to stir, and at the same time revive many discontents in several places, and animate the peo-

Propositions betwixt *Byron*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Count *Fuentes*.

people, already much incenſed by the *Pancarte*, or Tax of a *Sol pour livre*. Part III.

All theſe propoſitions, ſay ſome, were made in the time of the war againſt *Savoy*; and the Marſhal of *Byron* grown outragious, at the Kings refuſal to give him the Citadel of *Bourg*, had not only lent his eare, but had engaged himſelf very far in theſe damnable deſigns. However, he ſeemed to have repented himſelf: for he had confeſſed them to the King walking with him in the Cloiſter of the *Cordiliers* at *Lions*, and had demanded pardon of him; but he had neglected to take an aboliti-on or ſcript of indempnity, contrary to the advice of the Duke *d' Eſpernon*, who was more wiſe and conſiderate then he.

Byron had demanded pardon of the King, but after fell again.

But a little after, repenting himſelf for having repented, he was returned to his firſt fault, and yet entertained correſpondence with ſtrangers. Moreover, he ſpoke of the King with little reſpect, abaſing the ſplendor of his worthy actions, glorifying his own, and boaſting that he had put the Crown on his head, and preſerved *France*. In fine, all his diſcourſes were onely Bravadoes, Rhodomontadoes, and Threats.

He ſpeaks ill of the King, and boaſts exceſſively of himſelf.

All this was reported to the King: It was told him that he undervalued his great acts, extolled the power of the King of *Spain*, prayſed the wiſdome of that Princes Council, his liberality in recompencing all good ſervices, and his zeal to defend the true Religion. The King anſwered plainly and prudently to

Part III. those that made him these reports: *That he knew the heart of* Byron, *that it was faithful and affectionate: that in truth his tongue was intemperate; but that in favour of those good actions he had done, he could pardon his ill discourses.*

Two things compleat his loss.

Now two things compleated his loss, and obliged the King to search into the very bottom of his wicked designs. The first was the too great number of his friends, and the affection of the Souldiery, which he made boast of, as if they had been absolute dependants on his Command, and capable to do whatever he would. The second, the most particular friendship he had with the *Count d' Auvergne*, brother by the Mothers side to *Madamoiselle d' Entragues*, who was called the Marchioness of *Verneuil*. For by the one he begat a jealousie in the King, and made himself be feared; and by the other he rendred himself odious to the Queen, who imagined, and possibly not without cause, that he would make a party in the Kingdom to maintain that Rival and her Children, to her prejudice.

Laffin comes to Court, and reveals all to the King.

Now the King desiring to search the farthest he could into this affair, sends for *Laffin*, who comes to *Fountain-bleau*, more then a month before the King departed towards *Poictou*. He had at first some very secret entertainments with him, afterwards very publick ones; and gave him great quantities of Papers; amongst other, those *Memoires* or Notes written by *Byrons* own hand, of which

we

we have before ſpoken. That which *Laſſin* revealed to the King, begat great inquietudes in his ſpirit; ſo that in all the voyage of *Poictiers* he was obſerved extremely penſive; and the Court after his example was plunged in a ſad aſtoniſhment; though none could divine the cauſe of it. Part III.

At his return from *Poictiers* to *Fountainbleau*, he ſent for the Duke of *Byron* to come to him. The Duke at firſt doubted to go, and excuſed himſelf with many weak reaſons. He preſſes him, and ſends to him ſome of his Eſquires; afterwards the Preſident *Janin* brought him word that he ſhould receive no harme; which was, provided he put himſelf into an eſtate to receive grace, and aggravated not his crime, by his pride and by his impenitence. The King ſends for *Byron* to Court, who at firſt excuſes himſelf.

Byron knew that *Laſſin* had made a voyage to Court; but he was more aſſured of that man then of himſelf. Moreover the Baron of *Lux* his confident, who was then there, had told him that *Laſſin* had without doubt kept his Counſel, and not revealed any thing which might hurt him. *De Lux* believed ſo, becauſe the King after having entertained *Laſſin*, had told him with a merry countenance, *I am glad I have ſeen this man; he hath eaſed me of many diſtruſts and ſuſpitions of ſpirit.*

In the mean time the friends of *Byron* writ to him, that he ſhould not be ſuch a fool as to bring his head to the Court; that it would be more ſecure for him to juſtifie himſelf by

Part III. Attorny then in person. But notwithstanding this advice, and against biting of his own conscience, after having some time deliberated; he took post and came to *Fountain-blean*; now when the King no longer expected him, but prepared to go seek him.

In the end *Byron* comes.

The Histories of that time, and many other relations, recount exactly all the circumstances of the imprisonment, process, and death of that Marshal. I shall content my self to relate onely the chief.

The insolence and blindness of this unhappy man cannot be sufficiently admired at, nor on the contrary the goodness and clemency of the King be enough praised, who endeavoured to overcome his obstinacy. "Confession of a fault is the first mark of "repentance. The King taking him in private, instantly conjured him to declare all those intelligences and Treaties he had made with the Duke of *Savoy*; engaging his faith that he would bury all in an eternal oblivion: That he knew well enough all the particulars, but desired to understand them from his mouth; swearing to him, that though his fault should be greater then the worst of crimes, his confession should be followed by an absolute pardon. *Byron* in stead of acknowledging it, or at least excusing himself with modesty, as speaking to his King who was offended; insolently answered him, that he was innocent, and that he was not come to justifie himself, but to understand the names of his back-biters, and demand

The King conjures him the first time to confess the truth.

He insolently vindicates himself.

demand justice, which otherwise he would do himself. Though this too haughty answer aggravated much his offence, the King ceased not sweetly to tell him, that he should think farther of it, and that he hoped he would take better counsel. Part III.

The same day after supper, the Count of *Soissons* exhorted him likewise, on the part of the King, to confess the truth; concluding his Remonstrance with that sentence of the Wiseman; *Sir, know that the anger of the King is as the Messenger of Death.* But he answered him with more fierceness then he had done the King.

The King prayes the Count of *Soissons* to exhort him to confess his crime. But he is more obstinate.

On the morrow morning the King walking in his Gardens, conjured him the second time to confess the Conspiracy: but he could draw nothing from him, but protestations of innocency, and threatnings of his accusers.

The King speaks to him the second time, but in vain.

Upon this the King felt himself agitated even at the bottom of his soul with divers thoughts, not knowing what he ought to do. The affection he had born him and his great services, withheld his just anger: on the other side, the blackness of his crime, his pride and obstinacy gave reins to his justice, and obliged him to punish the criminal. Besides that the danger with which both his Estate and Person were threatned, seemed impossible to be prevented, but by cutting off the head of a conspiracy, whose bottom was scarce visible.

He is troubled what to resolve on.

In this trouble of spirit he retired into his Closet, and falling on his knees, prayed to God

Part III. God with all his heart to inspire him with a good resolution. He was accustomed to do thus in all his great affairs; "esteeming God "as his surest Counsellour, and most faith-"ful assistance. At his coming from prayers, as he said afterwards, he found himself delivered from the trouble wherein he was, and resolved to cast *Byron* into the hands of Justice, if his Council found that the proofs they had by writing were so strong, that there need no doubt be made of his Condemnation. He chose for this purpose four persons of those which composed it; to wit, *Bellievre*, *Villeroy*, *Rosny* and *Sillery*, and shewed them the proofs. They all told him with one voice, that they were more then sufficient.

He resolves to leave him to Justice.

Yet after this he would make a third trial on this proud heart. He employed this last time Remonstrances, Prayers, Conjurations, and assurances of pardon, to oblige him to acknowledge his crime: but he answered still in the same manner; adding, that if he knew his accusers, he would break their heads.

Yet tries the third time to draw truth from him.

In fine, the King wearied with his Rhodomontadoes and obstinacy, left him, giving him these for his last words; *Well then, we must learn the truth in another place. Farewel Baron of Byron.* This word was as lightning, the Vant-Courier of the Thunder-bolt he was about to throw: the King by it degrading him of so many eminent dignities with which he had honoured him, shewed that he was about to abase him much more then ever he had raised him.

He finds it in vain, & leaves him.

At

At his coming forth of the Queens Chamber, where he played at *Primero*, *Vitry* Captain of the Kings Life-Guard demanded his Sword, and Arrested him as his prisoner. *Praslin* likewise Captain of the Guards secured the Count of *Auvergne*; and on the morrow putting them in Boats on the *Seine*, conducted them with a good Convoy by water to the *Bastille*. Part III. *Byron* and the Count of *Auvergne* Arrested prisoners.

Byron had a very great number of friends: but on this occasion wherein he was accused to have conspired against the person of the King, they were all mute and struck dumb. His kindred which were found at the Court, went to cast themselves on their knees before the King, not to demand Justice of him, but to implore his mercy. The Lord *de la Force*, afterward Marshal of *France*, spoke for them all. If *Byron* had at first spoke with so much humility and submission as they did, he had without doubt obtained his grace: but it was now too late; there was now no more room for Clemency, it had given place to Justice. His kindred intercede for him.

The King commanded his Parliament to make his Process, and sent particular Commission to the chief President, and to the President *Potier Blan-Mesnil*, and two Counsellours, to draw up the instructions at the request of the Attorny-General. The Parliament make his Process.

The proofs were very strong, and the defence of *Byron* very weak. He made it plainly appear in a business wherein he acted for his Life, He defends himself weakly.

Part III. Life, that he had leſs brains then heart. For he preſently acknowledged his writing; which he might have denied, and have gained ſome time to have made it be proved. This piece had been written in the time of the War of *Savoy*. He pretended that the King being at *Lyons*, had pardoned him all his rebellious Motions. But the King ſent Letters under his Great Seal to the Parliament, by which he revoked that grace. And no great conſideration was had upon it: for firſt, that grace he had granted him, was but verbal; and in the ſecond place, the Parliament held it for a Maxime, That there are Crimes the King cannot pardon; as thoſe of *Læſæ Majeſtatis*, Divine and Humane; and thoſe which are of a horrible ſcandal, and great prejudice to the Publick. When they came to the re-examination and confronting of Witneſſes, and preſented *Laffin* to *Byron*, in ſtead of reproaching him, as a man whom an hundred reproaches might have rendred incapable of bearing witneſs, he acknowledged him for an honeſt Man, and a brave Gentleman: but afterwards when he heard his Depoſition read, he began to charge him with injuries, to call him Traytor, Magician, and Deviliſh Fellow. But the time was paſt, nor were his reproaches any more valuable.

Letters of the King revoking the pardon granted him at *Lyons*.

He reproacheth not *Laffin*.

Renaze appears before him, at which he is much aſtoniſhed.

He believed that *Renaze* was ſtill a Priſoner in *Piedmont*: but he had eſcaped ſome time before, and was now preſented to him. He believed that he ſaw a Fantaſm or Ghoſt; he remained aſtoniſhed and dumb; and without making

making any exception againſt him, heard his Depoſition, which agreed with that of *Laffin*. They depoſed, beſides what we have already ſaid, That he had complotted with the Governour of Fort St. *Katherine* to kill the King when he went to receive that place: That *Byron* was to march a little before him clad in a certain faſhion, to the end he might be known. They ſaid likewiſe, that he had another deſigne to take away the King when he ſhould be hunting, or other where ill accompanied, and carry him into *Spain*. Part III.

The Charge of the Impeachment thus made in the *Baſtille* by four Commiſſioners, he was conducted to the Palace down the River, guarded on both ſides by the Regiment of Guards. He was heard in Parliament ſeated on the Foot-ſtool, all the Chambers of the Aſſemblies, but the Peers, being preſent, though they had been likewiſe called; and afterwards reconducted to the *Baſtille*. He is conducted to the Parliament, and heard.

On the morrow, being the laſt of *July*, it was put to the Vote: of one hundred and fifty Judges, there was not one who concluded not of his death. He was declared *Attainted and convicted of the crime of* Læſæ Majeſtatis, *for the Conſpiracies made by him againſt the perſon of the King, Deſignes upon his Eſtate, Treaſons and Treaties with his Enemies, being Marſhal of the Armies of the ſaid King. And for reparation of his Crimes, deprived of all his Eſtates, Honours and Dignities, and condemned to have his head cut off in the place of the* Greve; *his Goods,* Sentence of death voted againſt him.

Part III. *Goods, moveable and immoveable, taken and confiscated to the King; his Lands of* Byron *for ever deprived of the title of Peerage; and those and all his other Lands re-united to the Demains of the Crown.*

The King removes the execution to the *Bastille.*

The King under pretext of doing a favour to his Kindred, but fearing indeed some tumult, because he was much loved of the Souldiery, and had a great number of friends in Court, removed the place of his execution, and would have it done in the *Bastille.* The Chancellour going with the chief President, caused him to be led to the Chappel, where about ten of the Clock in the morning he pronounced his Sentence, which he heard with one Knee on the ground, with a great deal of patience: onely when they came to these words, *Conspiracies against the person of the King*, he rise up, and cryed out, *There is no such thing; that is false; blot out that.* In fine, the Chancellour, according to form, redemanded of him the Coller of his Order, his Ducal Crown, and his Marshals Staff. He had not the two last with him, but onely the first, which he drew out of his pocket, and gave.

Sentence pronounced.

It will be needless to recount all his Discourses, his Reproaches, his Passions, his Laments, his Exclamations, and a hundred other Extravagancies, (for so we may call them) with which he was transported.

His head cut off.

About five a Clock that Evening, he was led to the Scaffold, where he had his head cut off.

off. It was obſerved that it bounded three times, forced by the impetuoſity of his ſpirits, which were tranſported; and that there iſſued more blood out of it, then out of the trunk of his body. He was carried to the Church of St. *Paul*, where he was buried without any Ceremony, but with a great concourſe of people, who had all tears in their eyes, and lamented that brave Courage which a deteſtable Ambition, and a too boundleſs Pride, had brought to ſo unhappy an end. Part III.

He was very ignorant, but a great lover of predictions.

It is convenient to underſtand, that this Marſhal was very ignorant, but extreamly curious in the Predictions of Aſtrologers, Diviners, Necromancers, and other Deceivers. It was held likewiſe, that *Laffin* had gained his favour by making him believe that he talked with the Devil, and that he had aſſured him that he ſhould be a Soveraign. It was ſaid likewiſe, that being young, he went one day diſguiſed to ſee a Teller of Good-fortune, who foretold that he ſhould be a very great Lord, but that he ſhould have his head cut off: at which being troubled, he outragiouſly beat him. That another Diviner told him he ſhould be King, if a blow of a ſword behinde hindred it not. And another, that he ſhould die by the hand of a *Burgonian*; and it was found, that the Executioner who cut off his head, was a Native of *Bourgongne*.

Divers others were reported: but to ſpeak the truth, the moſt of theſe Predictions are ordi-

Part III. ordinarily known after the Events; and though they do effectually precede the event, it must be believed by chance, and not by knowledge; the Prognosticators telling so many stories, that it is impossible but some should happen. "It "is therefore a great wisdome to disabuse our "spirits of these sorts of curiosities: for be-"sides that they have no foundation in Rea-"son, we offend God by believing them, and "give money to let our selves be fool'd and "led by the Noses: nor do ever wise men "give any faith to them, though sometimes "they serve to deceive the simple.

A reflection very necessary for great men.

Laffin and *Renaze* had their full pardon. One named *Hebert*, Secretary to Marshal *Byron*, suffered the ordinary and * extraordinary Question, without confessing any thing; yet he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment: but a little after, the King gave him his liberty; yet the resentment of what he had suffered, having more power over him then the favour, he fled into *Spain*, where he finished his days.

Laffin and *Renaze* pardoned.

* *That is, the Rack.*

The Baron of *Lux*, *Byrons* chief Confident, came to Court on the Kings word. He told him all that he knew, and possibly more: by which means he obtained his pardon in what form he pleased, and was confirmed in his Charges, and in the Government of the Castle of *Dijon*, and the City of *Beaune*. The King kept the Government of *Bourgongne* for Monsieur *le Dauphine*, and gave the Lieutenancy to *Bellegarde*, who afterwards was Governour in chief.

So is the Baron of *Lux*, and confirmed in his Charges.

Mon-

Montbarot Lord *Breſton* was put into the *Baſtille* upon ſome ſuſpitions had of him; but being found innocent, the Gates were ſoon opened to him. Part III. *Montbarot* impriſoned, and ſoon releaſed.

The Baron of *Fontanelles*, a Gentleman of a very good houſe, had not the ſame fortune: for for having a hand in the conſpiracy, and beſides that, treating of his own accord with the *Spaniards* to deliver to them a little Iſland on the Coaſt of *Bretany*, he was broke on the Wheele in the *Greve*, by ſentence of the great Council. The King in conſideration of his houſe, which was very illuſtrious, granted to his Kindred that in the ſentence he ſhould not be called by his proper Name: but Hiſtory could not be ſilent in it. *Fontanelles* broke on the wheel.

The Duke of *Bouillon* finding himſelf likewiſe ſomewhat involved in *Byrons* buſineſs, judged it convenient to retire into his Viſcounty of *Turenne*; where the King, being adviſed that he yet plotted ſomething, ſent for him to come and juſtifie himſelf. Inſtead of coming, he writ to him a very eloquent Letter, by which he repreſented to him, That having underſtood that his Accuſers were both extreamly wicked, and very cunning, he entreated him to diſpenſe with his coming to Court; and think fit, that to ſatisfie his Majeſty, all *France*, and his own Honour, his Proceſs ſhould be made at the Chamber of *Caſtres*, by vertue of the priviledge he had granted to thoſe of the pretended Religion; and that he would ſend thither his Accuſers and Accuſati- Duke of *Bouillon* had a hand in the conſpiracy. The King ſends for him to Court; but he preſents himſelf to the Chamber of *Caſtres*.

Part III. ons. In pursuance of which, he came to *Castres*, presented himself to the Chamber, and took an Act of his appearance. The King was not at all pleased with this Answer; blamed the Judges of *Castres* for having given him that Act, and sent to tell him that there was yet no question of leaving him over to Justice, and that therefore he should the rather come.

After, he retires to *Geneva*, & thence to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine* his Kinsman.

Being advertized by those friends he had at Court of the Kings resolution, who had sent to him the President *Commartin* to let him understand his will, he departed from *Castres*, went to *Orange*, passed by *Geneva*, and so retired to *Heidelberg* to the Prince *Palatine*: saying like a sage Politician, as he was, *That he ought neither to Capitulate with his King, nor yet go near him whilst his anger lasted.* This business lay a breeding some years; we shall see in its place how it terminated.

The favour of *Rosny* a pretext to the discontents of the great ones.

It must here be acknowledged, that the favour of *Rosny* served in this time for a pretext to almost all the discontents and all the conspiracies of the great ones. The King had truely raised him by four or five great Charges, because he believed he could not sufficiently recompence those services he had rendred him. And in that this Prince merits onely praise: for a good Master cannot do too much for a good and faithful servant. But though the troublesome and discontented Spirits might complain that the King gave him too many Charges and Employments; yet they could not lament his giving him too much power, or that

Yet the King gave him not too much power;

he

he gave it to him alone: for we may with truth Part III.
say, that *Rosny* had not the liberty to do the least grace of his own accord. He was forced in all things to addreſs himſelf directly to the King; who would himſelf diſtribute his favours and recompences to thoſe he knew worthy, that they might acknowledge the whole Obligation and dependence from him. This great Prince knew well, "That he who gives "all, may do all; and that he who gives no- "thing, is nothing, but what it ſhall pleaſe "him who gives all. He had too much Honour, and too much Glory, to ſuffer that another ſhould act in the moſt noble Function of his Royal Authority. Whatever favour or whatever familiarity any had with him, if they were wanting to conſerve it with a profound reſpect, or ſhould ſpeak or act with him otherwiſe then with their Maſter and with their King, they would doubtleſs as ſoon fall into diſgrace: and this was, as we have obſerved, one of the cauſes of *Byron*'s loſs. Judge then, if he who would not that any ſhould in any thing in the world act the Companion with him, would have endured that they ſhould act the Soveraign. Judge, if he would have been contented that his Miniſters ſhould ſimply have taken his conſent in a buſineſs, or that they ſhould ſpeak to him of things in manner of diſcharge, after having themſelves reſolved them. No, without doubt: He would that all Reſolutions ſhould come from his own Head, and from his own Motion: that the

but keeps it to himſelf.

An important truth.

Part III. choice should be his: that he alone should have the power to raise and throw down; and that none but himself should be Arbitrator in the Fortunes of his Subjects. Not but that he considered, as it was just, the Recommendations of the great ones of his Estate, and of his Ministers, in the conferring of his Favours, Employments and Charges; but it was still in such a manner, that he made them to whom he gave them know, that they ought onely to hold them from him: which the following Example well demonstrates.

A memorable example, that a King ought not to yeild too much to his Ministers.

The Bishoprick of *Poictiers* becoming vacant, *Rosny* very instantly besought him to consider in this occasion one named *Frenouillet*, reputed a knowing man, and a great Preacher. The King notwithstanding this Recommendation, gives it to the Abbot of *Rochepozay*; who, besides his own particular good Qualities, was Son to a Father who had served him well with his Sword in his Wars, and with his knowledge and spirit in Embassies. Some time after, the Bishoprick of *Montpellier* became vacant: the King out of his own proper motion sent to seek *Frenouillet*, and told him, that he would give it him; but on this condition, that he should acknowledge no Obligation but to himself. By which it may be seen, how he in some sort considered the Recommendation of *Rosny*: but it may likewise be perceived, that the power of that Favourite, who caused so much jealousie in the world, was bounded. I call him Favourite, by

by reason that he had the most splendent Employments; though to speak truth he had no pre-eminence over others of the Council: for *Villeroy* and *Jannin* were more considered then he in Negotiations and Forraign Affairs; *Bellievre* and *Sillery* for Justice and Policy within the Kingdome: and it is not to be imagined that those people did in any manner depend on him. There was onely one head in the Estate, which was the King, who alone made all his Members, and from whom onely they received spirits and vigour. Part III.

Enterprizes of the Duke of *Savoy* on *Geneva.*

About the end of this year, the Duke of *Savoy* thinking to revenge himself, and repair the loss of his County of *Bresse* on the City of *Geneva*, attempted to take it by storm. The Enterprize was formed by the Counsels of the Lord of *Albigny*; and the Duke having passed the Mountains, believed it infallible. *D' Albigny* conducted two thousand men for this purpose within half a League of the City; yet was not so rash as to engage himself, but left the conduct to others. More then two hundred men mounted the Ladders, gained the Ramparts, and ran through all the City without being perceived. In the mean time, the Burgesses were awakened by the cries of some that fled from a Guard, which had discovered the Enterprizers, and as soon beheld themselves charged by them. The Gunner, who was to have broken a Gate within, to cause those without to enter, was unhappily slain: after which, they were weakned on all sides.

Part III. The greatest part endeavoured to re-gain their Ladders: but the Cannons on the Flankers having broken them in pieces, they were almost all slain, or broke their necks by leaping into the Ditch. There was thirteen taken alive, almost all Gentlemen: amongst the others, *Attignac*, who had served as second to *Don Phillipin* bastard of *Savoy*. They yeilded upon assurance given them, that they should be treated as prisoners of War: But the furious cries of the common people, who represented the danger wherein their City was of Massacres, Violation, universal Destruction, or perpetual Slavery, forced the Council of this little Republick to condemn them to the infamous death of the Gibbet, like to Thieves. Their heads, with fifty four others of those that were killed, were stuck on Poles, and their bodies cast into the *Rhone*.

Thirteen of the Enterprizers hanged.

The Duke of *Savoy* excuses himself to the *Suisses*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, confused with such ill success, and much more with the reproaches of all *Christendome*, for having endeavoured such an Enterprize in time of absolute peace, repassed the Mountains in haste, leaving his Troops near to *Geneva*, and endevoured to excuse himself to the *Suisses*, under whose protection that City was, as well as under that of *France*, for having attempted to surprize it; saying, That he had not done it to trouble the repose of the Confederacy, but to hinder *Lesdiguieres* from seizing it for the King.

From whom the City of *Geneva* was held.

The Dukes of *Savoy* have for a long time pretended that this City appertained to their So-

Soveraignty; and that the Biſhops who bore the title of Earls, and were for ſome time Lords of it, held it from them: which is however a thing that the Biſhops never acknowledged; always maintaining, that they depended immediately on the Empire. The City on their part ſuſtained that it was a free City, and not ſubject in temporal things, neither to their Biſhops, whom they quite drave out in the year 1533. when they unhappily renounced the *Roman Catholick* Religion; nor to the Duke of *Savoy*, but onely to the Empire: for which reaſon they always bore the Eagle planted on their Gates. Both one and the other have very ſpecious Titles to ſhew their rights: but for the preſent the City of *Geneva* enjoyed full liberty, and had for above ſixty years, being become an Allie of the Cantons of *Switzerland*. Now the *Suiſſes* were comprehended in the Treaty of *Vervin* as Allies of *France*, and by conſequence ſo was the City of *Geneva*; and the King had ſufficiently declared it to the Duke of *Savoy*: notwithſtanding which, he ceaſed not to attempt this Enterprize; hoping that if it ſucceeded, the King of *Spain* and the Pope would ſuſtain him in it, and that the King for ſo ſmall a thing would not break the peace. Part III.

It was an Allie of the *Suiſſes*, and under protection of *France*.

The *Genevans* furiouſly incenſed againſt him, began to make War couragiouſly; entred his Country, and took ſome little Towns. They hoped that the King and the *Suiſſes* would ſecond theſe motions of their reſentment; and that all the Princes of *Germany*

The *Genevans* make War on *Savoy*.

Part III. would likewise come to their assistance. But the King desired to keep the peace; and was too wise to kindle a War in which he could not make Religion and Policy agree; or unite the Honour and Interests of *France*, obliged to protect its Allies, with the good favour of the Pope moved by his duty to the ruine of the *Hugonots*. He therefore sent *de Vic* to assure them of his protection: but with order to let them know, that Peace was necessary for them, and War ruinous; and that they ought to embrace the one, and shun the other. And they having little power for so much anger, and not being able to do any thing without his assistance, were constrained to consent, and enter into a Treaty with the *Savoyard*: by which it was said, that they were comprized in the Treaty of *Vervin*, and that the Duke could not build any Fortress within four Leagues of their City.

But the King obliges them to peace.

The inhabitants of *Mets* rise against *Sobole* their Governour.

It happened almost in the same time, that the City of *Mets* rose against the Governour of that Citadel. He was called *Sobole*; who having been made Lieutenant by the Duke of *Espernon*, to whom *Henry* the third had given the Government in chief, had deserted this Duke, I know not for what consideration, and had taken provision of the King. He had a Brother who seconded him in the Charge of this Government.

During the last War against *Spain*, these two Brothers had accused the principal inhabitants of *Mets* for having conspired to deliver the

the City to the *Spaniards*. There were many imprisoned, some put to the rack; but none found culpable: so that all the Burgesses believing with reason that this was a Calumny, conceived a hatred against these *Soboles*, and drew up several Petitions of complaint against them, accusing them of a great number of Exactions and Cruelties. The Duke *d' Espernon*, who without doubt sustained these Burgesses at the Court, was sent by the King to accommodate this difference. The *Soboles* who had offended him, no longer trusted him; they would not permit him to enter into the strongest Citadel, nor let the Garison go out to meet him: so that being justly incensed, he envenomed the plague instead of healing it, and animated the inhabitants in such a manner, that they Barricadoed themselves against them. The King who knew that the least sparkles were capable to kindle a great fire, was not content to send *La Varenne*, but went himself; being moreover willing to visit that Frontier. *Sobole* gave the place into his hands; and he gave it to *Arquien*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Guards, with the Quality of Lieutenant of the King, to command in the absence of the Duke *d' Espernon* Governour, who had no great power so long as the King lived.

Part III.

The Duke *d' Espernon* kindles the fire more.

The King goes in person.

The *Jesuites* present their request to the King, for their re-establishment.

The King passed the Feast of *Easter* at *Mets*. Whilst he was there, he hearkned to the request which the *Jesuites* made for their re-establishment. He referred the doing them Justice till

Part III. till he should come to *Paris*; and gave leave to Father *Ignatius Armand*, and Father *Coton*, to come to sollicite their cause. They were not wanting to do it; and Father *Coton*, being of a sharp and witty discourse, and a very famous Preacher, gained so soon the favour of all the Court, and pleased the King so well, that he obtained from his Majesty the recalling of the Society into the Kingdom, contrary to the opinion and advice of some of his Council. He then re-established them by an Act, which he caused to be confirmed in Parliament; and caused to be thrown down that *Pyramide*, which had been erected before the Palace, in the place of the house of *John Castel*, where there were many writings in Verse and Prose very bloody against these Fathers. Thus was their banishment gloriously repaired; and after all, the King kept with him Father *Coton* as his Chaplain in Ordinary, and Confessor and Director of his Conscience. This was not accomplished till the year 1604.

He re-establisheth them gloriously.

1602, & 1603. In these two years of 1602, and 1603. we have yet three or four important things to observe. The first, that the King at his departure from *Metz* went to *Nancy* to visit his Sister, the Dutchess of *Bar*; who died the year following without Children. The second, that he renewed the Alliance with the *Suisses*, and some months after with the *Grisons*; notwithstanding those Obstacles by which the Count of *Fuentes* endeavoured to oppose

He visits his sister at *Nancy*.

Renews his alliance with the *Swisses* and *Grisons*.

oppose it. The third was, that in returning to *Paris*, he received news of the Death of *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, one of the most Illustrious and most Heroick Princesses that ever Reigned; and who Governed her Estate with more Prudence and Power, then any of her Predecessors had ever done. Part III. Hears of the death of Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*.

She was Daughter to King *Henry* the eighth, and to that *Anne* of *Bullen*, for whose love he had left *Katherine* of *Arragon*, Aunt to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, his first wife. There was nothing wanting to the happiness of her Kingdom save the *Catholick* Religion, which she banished out of *England*. And we might give her the name of good as well as great, if she had not dealt so inhumanely as she did with her Cousin-German *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, whom she kept eighteen years prisoner, and after beheaded; induced to it by some conspiracies which the Servants and Friends of that poor Princess had made against her person. She beheaded *Mary* Queen of Scots.

The Son of that *Mary* named *James* the sixth King of *Scotland*, being the neareſt of the blood-Royal of *England*, as Grandchild to *Margaret* of *England*, Daughter to King *Henry* the seventh, and Sister to *Henry* the eighth, married to *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*, succeeded *Elizbeth*, who had put his Mother to death. He caused himself to be called King of *Great Britain*, to unite under the same title the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*; which indeed are but one Island, formerly *James 6.* King of *Scotland* and Son of *Mary*, succeeded to the Kindom of *England*. *He was* James *the first of that name among the Kings of* England.

Part III. formerly called by the Romans *Magna Britania*.

The Alliance of ſo powerful a King might make the balance incline to which ſide ſoever it were turned, either of *France* or *Spain*: For which reaſon both the one and the other immediately ſent Magnificent Ambaſſadors to ſalute him, each endeavouring to draw him to his ſide. It was *Roſny* who went on the part of *Henry* the Great: he obtained all the favourable Audience he deſired, and the confirmation of the ancient Treaties between *France* and *England*. The Ambaſſador of *Spain* found not ſuch facility in his Negotiation; the *Engliſh* appeared reſolute. The *Spaniards* were forced to yeild, that the place of the Treaty ſhould be appointed in *England*, and to grant the *Engliſh* free Traffick in all their Territories, even in the *Indies*, and give them liberty of Conſcience in *Spain*; ſo that they ſhould not be ſubject to the Inquiſition, nor obliged to ſalute the holy Sacrament in the ſtreets, but onely turn from it.

Ambaſſadors go from *France* and *Spain* to deſire his friendſhip.

Piety yeilds to Intereſt.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

France was in a profound peace, as well without by the renewing of the Alliances with the *Suiſſes* and with *England* as within, by the diſcovery of the Conſpiracies which were quite diſſipated; the King enjoyed a repoſe worthy his labours, and his paſt travail made his pleaſure more ſweet. However, he was not idle, but was ſeen daily employed: for he endeavoured with as much diligence to conſerve

The King labours to conſerve peace.

ſerve peace, that divine daughter of heaven, as he had uſed courage and valour in making War. Part III.

He was often heard ſay, "That though "he could make the houſe of *France* as pow- "erful in *Europe*, as that of the *Ottomans* was "in *Aſia*, and conquer in a moment all the "Eſtates of his neighbours; yet he would "not do ſo great a diſhonour to his word, "by which he was obliged to the keeping of "the Peace. Excellent ſpeeches of a good King.

His moſt ordinary divertiſements during this time, were Hunting and Building. He at the ſame time maintained workmen at the Church of the holy Croſs at *Orleans*, at St. *Germain* in *Laye*, at the *Louvre*, and at the Place Royal. His divertiſements.

The Nobility of *France* during this peace, could not live out of action: ſome paſſed their time in Hunting, others with Ladies; ſome in Studies of Learning and the Mathematicks, others in travelling into Forraign Countries; and others continued the Exerciſe of War under Prince *Maurice* in *Holland*. But the greateſt part, whoſe hands as it were itched, and who ſought to ſignalize their valour without departing from their Countries, became punctilious, and for the leaſt word, or for a wry look, put their hands to their ſwords. Thus that madneſs of Duels entred into the hearts of the Gentlemen; and theſe Combats were ſo frequent, that the Nobility ſhed as much blood in the Meadows with their Employs of the Nobility. Duels too frequent.

own

Part III. own hands, as their enemies had made them lose in Battails.

The King makes an Edict against this madness.

The King therefore made a second and a most severe Edict, which prohibited Duels, confiscating the bodies and goods of those who went thus into the field. For the present, this prohibition made the ardor of the most violent a little relent: but because he often pardoned this crime, not being able to refuse it to those who had faithfully served him in his need; it happened that in a little time this mischief regained its course, almost as strong as before.

He makes Acts for working the Gold, Silver and Copper Mines.

His receiving from all persons all advices that might accommodate and inrich his Kingdom, made him understand that there were in divers places of *France* very good Mines both of Gold and Silver, Copper and Lead; and that if they were wrought, there would be no need to buy of strangers: That likewise though there should accrue no great profit in digging them, yet by them many idle persons might be employed; and likewise those criminals who deserved not death, might be condemned for so many years to work in them. He made therefore an Act which renewed the ancient orders concerning the Officers, Directors, and Workers of Mines. And they began to work in the *Pyrenees*, where it is most certain that formerly there hath been Gold, and that there still is. In such manner, that had they continued this labour, they might in all appearance have gained

ned notable advantages; but either through the negligence of the Overseers, or through the little intelligence, or rather impatience of the *French*, who cast by any thing that presently seconds not their desires, this work was discontinued. Part III.

An enterprize to joyn the *Seine* and *Loire*.

Another very great conveniency for *Paris* was enterprized, which was the joyning of the Rivers *Loire* to the *Seine*, by the Chanel of *Briare*. *Rosny* laboured in this with much expence, employing in it near three hundred thousand crowns: but the work was interrupted, I know not wherefore. It was renewed again in the Reign of *Lewis* the thirteenth, and brought to perfection.

Another design to joyn the two Seas.

There was proposed likewise another, which was to make a conjunction of the two Seas, the Ocean and the *Mediterranean*, by uniting together the *Garonne* which runs into the Ocean, and the *Aude* which fals into the *Mediterranean* Sea below *Narbonne*, by Channels which were to be drawn along little Rivers, which run between these great ones. The Country of *Languedoc* offered to contribute; but there were difficulties found which hindred this enterprize.

Navigation was established by the good order which the King had taken to keep his Coasts in security, and to punish Pirates severely when they catcht them. Our ships were not content to Traffick to the ordinary places, but enterprized likewise to go to the new world; which they had almost forgot since

Part III. since the time of Admiral *Coligny*. A Gentleman of *Xaintonge* named *du Gas*, began with the Kings Commission the voyage of *Canada*, where afterwards was established the Commerce of Castors or Beavers, which are the skins of a certain amphibious creature, much like the Otters of this Country.

Navigation to *Canada*.

Among all these establishments, we must not forget a great quantity of new Religious Companies, which were made in *Paris*. There was first seen the Recollects, which were a branch of the Order of St. *Francis* of a new Reformation: *Capuchins* and *Feuillantines*; *Carmelites*, who were brought from *Spain*; Barefooted *Carmes*, who came likewise from that Country: of the Brothers of Charity, vulgarly called the ignorant brothers, who came out of *Italy*; and all had soon built them Convents out of the Almes and Charity of Devout persons.

Establishment of Religious Orders at *Paris*.

In the midst of this fair Calme, at which the King rejoyced, and during all these fair occupations which were worthy of him, he was not left without troubles and vexations, which perplexed his Spirit. He had none more piercing, nor more continual, then those which came on the part of his Wife and his Mistresses.

We have already said how *Madamoiselle d' Entragues* had engaged him. He had given her the land of *Verneuil* near *Senlis*, and for the love of her had made it a Marquisate. After that he was married, he ceased

The King gives *Verneuil* to *Madamoiselle d' Entragues*.

not

not to have the ſame paſſion for her, and to carry her with him in his Progreſſes, and lodge her at *Fontain-bleau.* Part III.

These ſcandalous diſorders extremely offended the Queen; and the Pride of the Marchioneſs more furiouſly incenſed her: for ſhe ſpoke alwaies of her in terms either injurious or diſdainful; ſometimes not forbearing to ſay, that if ſhe had Juſtice ſhe ſhould hold the place of that fat * Banker. She deſpiſes and offends the Queen. * *Alluding I ſuppoſe to the Dukes of* Florence, *who are all Merchants.*

The Queen likewiſe on her ſide was with reaſon tranſported againſt her, and made her complaints to all the world. But this was not the way to gain the ſpirit of the King: ſhe had done better, had ſhe wiſely diſſembled her diſpleaſure, and by her kindneſſes made her ſelf maſter of that heart, which of right belonged to her. The King loved to be flattered; he loved ſweet and compliant diſcourſe, and was to be gained by tenderneſs and affection. The band of love is love it ſelf: this was that ſhe ought to employ with him, and not grumblings, diſdains, and ill countenances, which ſerve onely more and more to diſguſt a husband, and make him find more pleaſure in the allurements of a Miſtreſs who takes care to be alwaies agreeable and alwaies complacent. But in ſtead of holding this way, ſhe was alwaies in contention with the King; ſhe exaſperated him continually by her complaints, and by her reproaches: and when he thought to find with her ſome ſweetneſs to eaſe the great labours of his ſpirit, he The Queen on her part troubleſome to the King.

Part III. encountred nothing but Gall and Bitterneſs.

She had belonging to her Chamber a *Florentine* woman Daughter of her Nurſe, named *Leonora Galigay*, a creature extreme ugly, but very ſpiritual, and who knew ſo perfectly how to inſinuate into her heart, that ſhe had in ſuch manner ſeiſed on it, that ſhe abſolutely commanded her. It hath been ſaid, that this woman fearing that the Queen her Miſtreſs would love her leſs, if ſhe perfectly loved the King her husband, kept her from it as much as ſhe could, that ſhe might poſſeſs her with more eaſe. Afterwards, to the end ſhe might have a ſecond in her deſigns, ſhe Married and Eſpouſed her ſelf to a *Florentine* a domeſtick of the Queens, named *Concbini*, of a little better Extraction then her ſelf, being grand-child to *Baptiſta Conchini*, who had been Secretary to *Coſmo* Duke of *Florence*.

Leonora & *Conchini* her husband, foſter the Queen in ill humors.

The Common opinion was that theſe two perſons conjoyntly laboured ſo long as the King lived, to conſerve a ſpleen in the ſpirit of the Queen, and to make her always troubleſome and humourſome towards him; in ſuch manner, that for ſeven or eight years together, if he had one day of peace and quiet with her, he had ten of diſcontent and vexation. In this truly the Kings fault was the greateſt, becauſe he gave the occaſion of theſe troubles; and the husband being, as St. *Paul* ſaith, the head of the wife, ought to give her example, and keep a more ſtrict union with her.

We

We have obſerved this once for all. But we cannot too often make this Reflexion, "That ſin is the cauſe of all diſorder; and that "for a little pleaſure it cauſes a thouſand "troubles and a thouſand miſchiefs, even in "this world it ſelf. The King being now but juſt fifty years of age, began this year to have ſome ſmall feelings of the Gout; which poſſibly were the doleful effects of his exceſſive voluptuouſneſs, as well as of his labours. Part III. 1604. The Kings debaucheries cauſe the Gout.

To return to the Marchioneſs; it happened one day that the Queen being very much offended at her diſcourſe, threatned her that ſhe ſhould know how to bridle her wicked tongue. The Marchioneſs upon this ſeemed ſad and grieved; ſhunn'd the King, and let him underſtand that ſhe deſired that he would no more demand any thing of her, becauſe ſhe feared that the continuation of his favours would be too prejudicial both to her and her children. Her deſign was to inflame more his paſſion, by ſhewing her ſelf more difficult. But when ſhe ſaw that her cunning had not all the effect ſhe hoped, and that the Queens anger was encreaſed to ſuch a point, that indeed there was ſome danger for her and hers; ſhe adviſed her ſelf of another thing. *D' Entragues* her Father demanded permiſſion of the King to carry her out of the Kingdom, to avoid the vengeance of the Queen. The King granted her demand eaſier then ſhe thought he would; wherewith being The Queen threatens the Marchioneſs. Who prays the King to ſee her no more. And her Father demands leave to retire with her out of *France.*

Part III. ing excessively enraged, her Father and the Count *d' Auvergne* her Brother by the Mothers side, began to Treat secretly with the Ambassador of *Spain*, to have some retreat in the Territories of his King, casting themselves absolutely they and their children into his Arms.

They treat with the Ambassador of *Spain*.

The Ambassador believed that this business would be very advantagious to his Master, and that in time and place he might serve himself of that promise of marriage which the King had given to the Marchioness: he therefore easily granted them all that they demanded, and added all the fair promises with which weak and feeble spirits might be entoxicated.

The King had granted them permission to retire themselves out of *France*, but yet without the Children, out of a belief he had that they would go into *England* to the Duke of *Lenox* and the Earl of *Aubigny* of the house of the *Stuarts*, who were their near kinsmen; but when he understood that they consulted of a retreat into *Spain*, he resolved to hinder them, but to employ fair means to do it. He sends therefore for the Count *d' Auvergne*, who was then at *Clermont*, so much beloved in the Province, that he believed he might securely stay there. He refused to come before he had his Pardon Sealed in good form, for all that he might have done. This was a kind of new crime, to capitulate with his King: however he sends it him, but with this Clause,

The King resolves to hinder them. To this end he sends for *Auvergne*, who is at *Clermont*, and refuses to come.

That

That he should make his immediate appearance. Part III.

His distrust permitted him not to obey on this condition; he stayed still in the Province, where he kept himself on his Guard, with all precautions imaginable. Nevertheless he was not so cunning, but the King could entrap him, and by an Artifice very gross. He being Colonel of the *French* Cavalry, was desired to go see a Muster made of a Company of the Duke of *Vendosmes*. He went well mounted, keeping himself at a good distance, that he might not be encompassed: Nevertheless, *d' Eure* Lieutenant of that Company, & *Nerestan* approaching him to salute him, mounted on little Hobbies for fear of giving him suspition, but with three Souldiers disguised like Lacquies, cast him from his horse, and made him prisoner. They led him presently to the *Bastille*, where he was seized with a great fear, when he saw himself lodged in the same Chamber where the Marshal of *Byron* his great friend had been.

He is Arrested prisoner, and carried to the *Bastille*.

Immediately after the King caused *d' Entragues* to be Arrested, who was carried to the * Conciergerie; and the Marchioness, who was left in her lodgings under the Guard of the Cavalier *de Guet*. After desiring to make known by publick proofs the ill intention of the *Spaniards*, who seduced his subjects, and excited and fomented conspiracies in his Estate, he remitted the prisoners into the hands of the Parliament; who having convicted them

D'Entragues and the Marchioness likewise Arrested.

* *The Common Goal of* Paris.

Part III. them of having complotted with the *Spaniard*, declared by a ſentence of the firſt of *February*, the Count of *Auvergne*, *d' Entragues*, and an *Engliſh* man named *Morgan*, who had been the Agent of this fair Negotiation, guilty of Treaſon; and as ſuch, condemned them to have their heads cut off: The Marchioneſs to be conducted with a good Guard into the Abby of Nuns at *Beaumont* near to *Tours*, to be there ſhut up; and that in the mean time there ſhould be more ample information made againſt her, at the requeſt of the Attorny-General.

Sentence of Parliament againſt them.

The Queen ſpared no ſollicitations for the giving of this ſentence; believing that the Execution would ſatisfie her reſentment: but the goodneſs of the King ſurpaſſed her paſſion. The love which he had for the Marchioneſs was not ſo far extinct, that he could reſolve to Sacrifice what he had adored: he would not permit them to pronounce the Sentence; and two months and a half afterward, to wit, on the fifteenth of *April*, he by Letters under his Great Seal changed the penalty of Death on the Count of *Auvergne* and the Lord *d' Entragues*, into perpetual Impriſonment. Some time after he had likewiſe changed the priſon of *Entragues* into a Confinement to his houſe of *Malles-herbes* in *Beauſſe*. He likewiſe permitted the Marchioneſs to retire to *Verneuil*; and ſeven months being paſſed, without the Attorney-Generals procuring any proof againſt her, he cauſed her

The King pardons them, and juſtifies the Marchioneſs.

her to be declared abſolutely innocent of the crime whereof ſhe was accuſed. Part III.

There reſted onely the Count of *Auvergne*, who being the moſt to be feared, was the worſt treated: for the King not onely kept him priſoner at the *Baſtille*, where he lay for twelve whole years, but likewiſe deprived him of his propriety in the County of *Auvergne*. He had bore the title, and enjoyed it by vertue of the Donation of King *Henry* the third.

But the Count of *Auvergne* remained at the *Baſtille*, and is deſpoiled of his County.

Queen *Margaret* newly come to the Court, ſuſtained that this Donation could not be valuable, becauſe the contract of the Marriage of *Katherine de Medicis* her Mother, to whom that County appertained, allowing Subſtitution of her goods, and that Subſtitution, ſaid ſhe, extending to Daughters in default of Males, that County was to come to her after the death of *Henry* the third, nor could he give it to her prejudice.

The Parliament having hearkned to her reaſons, and ſeen her proofs, annulled the Donation made by *Henry* the third, and adjudged her this County. In recompence of which obligation, and many others ſhe had received from the King, ſhe made a Donation of all her Eſtates after death to the *Daulphin*, reſerving to her ſelf onely the fruits of them during life.

Which is adjudged to Queen *Margaret*, who gives her Eſtates to the *Daulphin*.

The Count of *Auvergne* thus deſpoiled, remained in the *Baſtille* untill the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixteen; when

Part III. Queen *Mary de Medicis* having need of him during the troubles, delivered him from thence, and cauſed him to be juſtified. She cauſed likewiſe the Regiſters of Parliament and of the Notaries to be taken off the File, with all informations which might conſerve the memory of his Crime. "By this ſee an "example how time cauſes a mutability in all "things, and how it changeth the greateſt ha-"treds into the greateſt affections; and on the "contrary, tranſmutes the ſtrongeſt affections "into mortal hatreds.

The deſignes of the Duke of *Bouillon* diſcovered.

By ſearching into the plot of the Marchioneſs her Father, to deliver her with her Children to the *Spaniards*, the deſignes of the Duke of *Bouillon* were likewiſe diſcovered; who at preſent was the onely perſon could give the King any trouble in his own Kingdom. It is moſt certain, that this Prince had conferred on him very conſiderable Favours, having given him the Staff of *Marſhal* of *France*, and procured him the marriage of the Heireſs of *Sedan*: and this Lord had likewiſe very well ſerved him in his greateſt neceſſities. But after he ſaw him converted to the Catholick Faith, he diminiſhed much of his affection; and moved partly by Zeal for his falſe Religion, and partly by Ambition, he conceived vaſt deſignes of making himſelf Chief and Protector of the *Hugonot* party; and under that pretext, make himſelf Maſter of the Provinces beneath the *Loire*. It was believed that for this effect he had much aſſiſted to exaſperate

The King had done him many favours, and he had as well ſerved the King:

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the ſpirit of the Marſhal of *Byron*; and that he had made a Treaty with the *Spaniard*, who was to furniſh him with what money he deſired; but not with forces, for fear of rendring himſelf odious to the Proteſtants. Part III.

It was but too viſible, that after the converſion of the King, he had inſtantly laboured to beget diſtruſts and diſcontents in the ſpirits of the *Hugonots*, and to unite and Rally them together, that they might make a body: perſwading himſelf, that that body muſt neceſſarily have a head, and that they could chuſe no other but himſelf. And for theſe Reaſons, ſo many Aſſemblies were made, and ſo many particular and general Synods of thoſe of this Religion held, wherein nothing was heard but complaints and murmurs againſt the King, whom they continually wearied with new Requeſts and Demands. But after the Kings converſion, he excites the *Hugonots* againſt him, and would make himſelf chief of their party.

Moreover, it was found that this Duke had Emiſſaries and Servants in *Guyenne*, and particularly in *Limoſin* and *Quercy*, who held private Councils among the Nobility, diſtributed money, and took oath of thoſe who promiſed him ſervice, and had formed deſignes againſt ten or twelve Catholick Cities. His Emiſſaries endeavour to form a party in *Guyenne*.

The King judging that he ought to dig up the root of this miſchief before it extended farther, and not knowing indeed to what it might extend, reſolved himſelf to go and remedy it. He departed from *Fontainbleau* in the month of *December*, having ſent before *Jean-Jacques de Meſmes*, Lord of *Roſſy*, to make The King goes to prevent them.

Part III. make process against those that were culpable.

All the Conspiracy dissipated.

Immediately all this conspiracy flew into smoak: The best advised came to the King to cast themselves at his feet. The chief Agent of the Duke of *Bouillon* being advertized that there was order given to arrest him, brought his head to the King, and told him both all he knew before, and all that he did not know. The others either fled out of the Kingdom, or else hid themselves. Five or six unfortunate persons being taken, were beheaded at *Limoges*, and their heads planted on the tops of the Gates, their bodies burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Air. Three or four others suffered the same punishment at *Perigord*. There were ten or twelve condemned for Contumacy, and their Effigies hanged up; amongst others, *Chappelle-Byron*, and *Giversac* of the house of *Cugnac*. But in all these procedures, there were found no proofs by writing, nor yet by any formal deposition against the Duke of *Bouillon*; so cautiously and subtilly had he carried his business.

The King returns to *Paris*.

Before these executions, the King having made his entrance into *Limoges*, returned to *Paris*.

He in vain endeavours to make the Duke of *Bouillon* humble himself.

He passionately wished, that after this the Duke of *Bouillon* would acknowledge and humble himself. For if he remained impenitent, he was obliged to prosecute him to the utmost; and if he did prosecute him, he offended all that great body of Protestants, which were his faithful Allies. He employed there-

therefore underhand all means which he could devise, to induce him to have recourse to his Clemency, rather then to the intercession of strangers; which a Soveraign could not agree to in the case of his Officer and Subject. The Duke desired as much as he to draw himself out of this trouble: but he believed he could not finde security at Court, because *Rosny*, who was not his friend, and who had conceived some jealousie to see him more authorized then himself in the *Hugonot* party, had so great credit with the King. So that after many Treaties and Negotiations, the King resolved to go seek him at *Sedan* with an Army. Part III.

He resolves to besiege *Sedan*.

Rosny laboured with great Zeal to make preparation for this Expedition. The King confided much in him; and by honouring him, desired to testifie to the *Hugonots*, that if he assaulted the Duke of *Bouillon*, it was not against their Religion, but the Rebellion he made War. For this purpose he erected the Land of *Sully* into a Dutchy and Peerage; wherefore we shall henceforward call him Duke of *Sully*. His thoughts were, that the King should pursue the Duke of *Bouillon* to the utmost. *Villeroy* and the rest of the Council were of a contrary judgement: they would not have the Siege of *Sedan* hazarded, because the length of that Enterprize might possibly revive divers factions in the other corners of the Kingdom, give time to the *Spaniard* to assault the Frontiers of *Picardy*, to the discontented

Rosny makes all necessary preparations.

The King makes him Duke of *Sully*.

Inconveniences in the siege of *Sedan*.

Part III. tented *Savoyard* to cast himself with the Forces of the *Milanois* on disarmed *Provence*, and to the *Hugonots* and Protestants of *Germany* to come to the assistance of their friends.

The King chuses rather to receive the Duke into favour.

The King well foresaw all these inconveniences; and therefore having advanced to *Donchery*, during the absence of *Sully*, who was gone to provide Artillery, he treated with the Duke of *Bouillon*, and received him into grace;

On what conditions.

on condition that he humbled himself before his Majesty, and received him into the City of *Sedan*, and delivered up the Castle to him, to keep it with what Garison he should think fit for four years.

These were the publick Conditions; but by the secret Articles the King promised the Duke to stay but five days in *Sedan*, nor to put but fifty men in the Castle, which should immediately depart upon humble supplication made by the Duke. All these things were faithfully executed, and without the least distrust either on the one side or the other. The

The Duke demands pardon of of the King, who enters *Sedan*, and thence goes to *Paris*.

Duke came to meet the King at *Donchery*, where he besought his pardon. The King received him as if he had never been faulty; and five or six days after, entred into *Sedan*; where he stayed onely three days, and then returned to *Paris*. The Duke accompanied him as far as *Mouson*, passing then no further: but some days after, when he understood that the Parliament had confirmed his pardon, in which were likewise comprehended his friends that had been condemned for the default of *Limo-*

ges, he came to Court, where he received more Honours and Kindneſſes then ever. This was the cuſtome of that great King: "He had "a heart like a Lyon againſt the Proud, and a- "gainſt Rebels; but he was pleaſed to relieve "with an unparallell'd goodneſs thoſe he had "overcome, when by their ſubmiſſions they "rendred themſelves worthy to receive his "grace. And the Duke of *Bouillon*, who perfectly knew his Nature, (for they had lived and made War a long time together) was not wanting in this Conjuncture to comport himſelf with all that Prudence and Compliancy which an underſtanding man, as he was, could be capable of. Part III. *A great example of generoſity in our Prince.*

Notwithſtanding this great generoſity and goodneſs of the King, his Kingdome was no leſs turmoiled with incredible infidelities and conſpiracies: ſuch were the treaſon of *l' Oſte*, the attempt on the City of *Marſeilles* by *Merargues*, and another on *Narbonne* and *Leucate* by the *Enquiſſes*. Notwithſtanding which, there are many conſpiracies.

L' Oſte was Clerk to *Villeroy*, and his Godſon: the employment he had under him, was to copy out the diſpatches. This unfortunate man revealed all the ſecrets of the Kings Affairs to ſome of the Council of *Spain*, who had corrupted him with twelve hundred Crowns of Penſion, which they promiſed him whilſt he was in that Country with the Ambaſſadour *Rochepot*. His treachery being diſcovered, he fled; and as he was purſued by the Provoſts of the Marſhal, he drowned himſelf in the River Treaſon of *l' Oſte*.

Part III. ver of *Marne*, near the Ferry of *Fay*. It may easily be judged, that *Villeroy*, whose fidelity by this means remained exposed to the Kings just suspitions, and to the calumnies of his enemies, was sensibly troubled. He had had without doubt some difficulty to clear himself of this business, if the King, who saw him in an extraordinary affliction, had not had the goodness to go visit him himself; and by that honour brought him the comfort of justifying him against all calumnies the Envious might sow against him.

1605. Treason of *Merargues*.

Merargues was a Provincial Gentleman, of a very good House; who having assurance that he should the following year be *Viguier* or Sheriff of *Marseilles*, had promised to deliver that City to the *Spaniard* during his Sheriffalty. He was so imprudent and so foolish as to discover his designe to a Slave of the Gallies of *Marseilles*, who gave advice of it to the Court, to the end possibly that he might gain his liberty.

He is surprized talking with the Spanish Ambassadours Secretary.

Upon this advice, *Merargues*, who was then at *Paris*, was watched so diligently, that they found him conferring with the Secretary of the Ambassadour of *Spain*, and speaking so loud, that almost all they said was heard. They searched him, and found in the fold of his Garter a Note containing the model of his Enterprize. He was arrested, and had his head cut off by sentence of the Parliament of *Paris*, on the nineteenth of *December*. His body was quartered, and his Quarters fixed

His punishment.

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before the City-gates: his head carried to *Marſeilles*, to be planted on a Pole on a Tower of one of the principal Gates. The Secretary of the Ambaſſadour was arreſted as well as he; and had been in great danger, if the King had been as furious as thoſe counſelled him, who deſired a rupture with *Spain*. Part III.

The Ambaſſadours Secretary arreſted.

This Rencounter gave ſubject to the Politicians to diſcourſe diverſly concerning the Rights of Ambaſſadours and their people: but *Henry* the Great decided himſelf the Queſtion in this manner: "The Ambaſſadours (*ſaid* "*he*) are ſacred by the right of Nations: "now they firſt break them, when they con- "trive any treaſon againſt the State, or againſt "the Prince to whom their Maſter ſent them; "and therefore by conſequence this right "ought not ſecure them from being ſought "out and puniſhed. Moreover, it is not to be "preſumed that they are either Ambaſſadours, "or that they repreſent the Soveraign who "ſends them, when they commit thoſe treache- "ries and infidelities which their Maſters would "neither act nor avow. However, there is "more generoſity in not uſing in this point "the utmoſt rigour, but reſerving the ad- "vantage to chaſtiſe them without doing it. "And to this purpoſe, being well read in Hi- "ſtory, he alleadged that example of the "Roman Senate, who having diſcovered that "the Ambaſſadors of the *Allobroges* were con- "cerned in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, con- "tented themſelves with commanding them

Several diſcourſes concerning Ambaſſadours privileges.

"to

Prta III. "to depart the City. This was his Opinion: and as he always followed the most generous Maximes, he forbad that any process should be made against the Secretary, to whom the Judges were about to give the Question.

The King forbids any process against the Secretary.

In the mean time, the Ambassadour thinking to cloak this perfidy by his Exclamations, came to complain to him that the rights of Nations were violated, and in them the Dignity of Ambassadours; and that the King his Master would have that resentment of it, which became a great Prince when offended. The King answering him with a wise coldness, represented unto him what his Secretary had acted with *Mirargues*. The Ambassadour not willing either to own the Man, or approve his Action, turned the business another way, and complained that the King had made the first breach of the peace of *Vervin*, by assisting the *Hollanders* both with men and money. The King replyed, that for the men, they went not by his Orders; and that there were Frenchmen in the service of the Arch-Duke, as well as in the *Hollanders*: but for his money, that it was in his power to do with it what he pleased, and to lend it or give it without offending any. The Ambassadour was very hot, and there past some high words both on one part and the other. In fine, the King returned him his Secretary, as he had resolved to do before he spake.

The Ambassadour makes a great noise, and threatens his Kings resentment.

Treason of the *Luquisses*.

As for the *Luquisses*, they were two Brothers *Genoways* by extraction, who had made agreement

agreement with the Governour of *Perpignan* to deliver to him *Narbonne* and *Lucate*. It is certain, that it was not in their power to execute this designe; and that there was more ill will in them, then danger that the thing should succeed: Nevertheless they were taken, and carried to *Tholouse*, where the Parliament sent both the one and the other to the Gibbet. Part III.

It seemed that not onely the malice of men, but even folly it self conspired now against *France*: for the same day that *Merargues* was executed, an unhappy Fool made an attempt on the sacred person of the King; throwing himself upon him with a Dagger in his hand, as he passed on horse-back over the *Pont-Neuf*, returning from hunting. The Foot-men of the King running in, made him loose his aim; and had killed him on the place, if the King had not forbad it, who caused him to be carried Prisoner to *For-l'Evesque*. He was called *John de l'Isle*, Native of *Vineux* near *Senlis*. He was presently examined by the President *Janin*, who could get no reasonable answer from him: for he was indeed quite out of his senses. He believed himself King of all the world, and said that *Henry* the fourth having usurped and taken *France* from him, he would chastise him for his temerity. Upon which, the King judging that he was sufficiently punished by his folly, commanded that he should onely be kept in prison; where he died not long after. A fool makes an attempt on the Kings person.

Part III. Those who desire war, whet the Kings spirit upon these Conspiracies.

Those who desired War, lost not the occasion to incense the Kings spirit upon all these Conspiracies and Enterprizes of the *Spaniards*. They remonstrated to him, That he ought not to expect other from his perpetual Enemies: That having used all their endeavours to hinder him from coming to his Crown, they continued dayly to attempt something against his Repose and Life: That their Ambushes were more to be feared in Peace, then in War: That it were better to break with them, because they would have less means to hurt him, being no longer in the Entrails of his Estate: That he had more advantage to act against them by open force, then to counterplot all their treacherous devices, which they held under the cloak of Peace and Friendship. They moreover presented to him the ill estate of the Affairs of *Spain*; that having expended all their Treasure in the Low-Country-Wars, they were fain to have recourse to extraordinary ways to recover it. But above all, they forgot not to lay before him the great and advantagious Qualities that he had above *Philip* the third his Adversary, that he might be the easier induced to assault a man whom they taught him to despise and esteem feeble.

Character of *Philip* 3. of *Spain*.

I may say to this purpose of this King, that though he had his spirit very clear, and that the diligences of *Philip* the second his Father had given him all knowledge necessary to govern; nevertheless out of a certain timidity and distrust of himself, too ordinary in many great

great men, shunning labour and pains, he had absolutely discharged himself of the Government on the Marquiss of *Denia*, whom he made soon after Duke of *Lerma*. It will be difficult to express how this man rendred himself odious, and how the other was little esteemed so long as he endured: but in fine, God of his grace opened the eyes of this young Prince: he broke his chains; and he who was become as it were his Master, believed himself no better able to divert all those disgraces which might happen, then by becoming a Church-man and a Cardinal. Part III.

A good & profitable reflection.

We may in passing make some reflection of the pitiful estate to which a Soveraign reduces himself, who for not comporting himself as he ought, necessarily falls into the disdain and aversion of his Subjects. "Without doubt "the greatest misfortune can arrive him, is to "be regarded as inferiour and subject to ano- "ther; to have his Ears continually filled "with that voice of his people, crying on all "sides, *Governus*; and to permit himself to "be guided rather by five or six wicked Flat- "terers, who make him believe that he is Ma- "ster, though he exercises no one Function, "then by the truth or judgement of his whole "Kingdome. For if he desire to know whe- "ther he be truely Soveraign or no, he need "onely regard himself without flattery, If it "be he that gives Charges of his proper mo- "tion; if it be he that chuses the persons; if "the Officers about him are of his own ma-

Part. III. "king; if he have ever said, *I will have it so*, "in any affair of importance; if he see him- "self always followed and accompanied by "Grandees; if those who have business, who "seek employments, and who have need of his "favour, are in his Anti-chamber: in fine, "that none in his Realm hath more respect and "more assiduity; and then he shall clearly know "who it is that reigns. But it is not enough "for him to know who it is; he must, after "the example of *Philip* the third, of whom we "were now speaking, endeavour to put him- "self in possession of his Authority. It is in "that the Courage of a Prince principally con- "sists: for in what can he better make known "his Resolution and Valour, then in taking "upon him that degree and power which "God hath given him? Is there a truer point "of honour for a King, then in maintaining in "his person the rights of his Royalty? With- "out dissembling, it is more weakness and "shame for a Soveraign to submit himself to "him who ought to be submitted to his will, "then to flee in the day of battel before his "enemies: for the bravest are sometimes put "to the worst; and the courage of a King con- "sists much less in fighting with his hands, "then governing with his head. What would "it be for him to overcome his enemies, if he "sees himself beneath his own subject, who "under pretext to serve him, reduces him "and his Estate into fetters; and who dares "invest himself with all the glory and all the "ad-

In what the courage of a Soveraign principally consists.

"advantage of command, making him believe "that it is to ease him of the burthen?

Part III.

Our *Henry* was not of this temper: his goodness was extream, but it was neither weak nor timid: his knowledge and understanding were not useless, but always laborious and active: nothing was above him, but God himself; nothing on any side of him, but Justice and Clemency, his two faithful Counsellours. The most hardy of his Ministers trembled when he but bent his brow: all familiarities immediately ceased, and none durst be other then silent, when he was pleased to take the tone of Master.

The goodness of *Henry* the Great.

Now this great King conserving still the splendour of his Majesty, we cannot wonder if he were esteemed above *Philip* the third; who for the present suffered himself to be absolutely governed. And therefore because they knew he understood his fault, they believed that he would be more easily perswaded to make War against him. Indeed he was sufficiently resolute; and after so many injuries as he had received from the *Spaniard*, his resentment had no great need of a spur. However, before he would engage himself in so great an Enterprize, he would manage all his Affairs so exactly, gather together so much Money, Artillery and Ammunitions, fortifie so well his Frontiers, take such good order within his Kingdom, assure himself of so many Friends and Allies, raise such powerful Armies; and in fine, make his Party so strong, that the suc-

But the King hastens not the War.

Part III. ceſs ſhould not at all be doubtful; and that aſſaulting that ambitious power, he might be aſſured to overthrow it: and therefore he judged it not to the purpoſe too much to haſten.

In the mean time, he neglected not other means to acquire reputation; not thinking it leſs glorious to blazon forth his name by the repute of his wiſdom in Counſels, then by the power of his Arms. By the laſt, he had been victorious over the Rebels and the *Spaniards*; by the other, he rendred himſelf Arbitrator of the great differences of *Chriſtendome*, and acquired a ſuperiority ſo much more noble, becauſe given him without conſtraint.

He makes himſelf Arbitrator of the differences of *Chriſtendom*

Pope *Clement viii.* being dead about the end of the year 1605. he would employ his credit to make a Pope of his Friends. The Cardinal of *Joyeuſe* his Ambaſſadour, and his other Agents, laboured ſo well, that they made the Votes fall on *Alexander de Medicis*, who was named the Cardinal of *Florence*. He took the name of *Leo xi.* but he died at the end of ſixteen days: ſo the buſineſs was to begin again. The King would not that they ſhould take pains in the choice of another; and declared, That *France* took no other intereſt then that an honeſt man ſhould be choſen. The *Conclave* in the end choſe the Cardinal *Bourgheſe*, who was named *Paul* 5.

1606. After the death of *Clement* 8. he cauſes to be choſen *Leo xi.* who ſoon dies, and *Paul* 5. ſucceeds.

A great difference between *Paul* 5. and the *Venetians*.

In the firſt years of his *Papacy*, there was re-kindled a great difference which was begun under his Predeceſſours, which had ſet on fire

all

all the corners of *Italy*, and possibly all *Christendome*, if our *Henry* had not taken care to extinguish it. I am about to tell the subject of it. Part III.

The *Signory* of *Venice* had formerly made an Ordinance or Decree, which prohibited the Monks from purchasing Lands in their Dominions above the value of twenty thousand Duckats; and enjoyning every one that had purchased above that value, to remit it to the *Signory*, who would re-imburse them the purchase and the improvements they had made on it. And following the foot-steps of this ancient Decree, they made another, which forbad the founding or building of new Churches, Convents and Monasteries, without expres permission of the *Signory*, upon pain of banishment, and confiscation of such Foundations and Buildings. The *Venetians* had made a law to bound the Acquisitions of the Clergy.

It was indeed part of the function and charge of Bishops to hinder this multiplication of Convents; but either through negligence, or too much facility, they gave to all as much permission as they demanded: insomuch that the Commonwealth seeing the default of the Prelates, found themselves constrained to take notice of it: otherwise it would soon have happened that all their Cities would have been nothing else but Convents and Churches; and all their Revenues, which ought to bear the charge of their Estate, and serve for the nourishment of married people, who furnish it with Souldiers, Merchants and Labourers,

Part III. would have been expended onely in the maintenance of Nuns and Fryers.

They make other Decrees.

The Senate therefore made another Decree, which prohibited Eccleſiaſticks from purchaſing any immoveable Goods, except by the permiſſion of the Senate. And at the ſame time it happened that an Abbot and a Cannon, accuſed of very horrid Crimes committed in the Territories of the *Signory*, were impriſoned by the Authority of the Secular Juſtice; which paſſed for a ſtrange attempt on the other ſide the Mountains, where the Eccleſiaſticks are not at all ſubject to Secular Juſtice.

Paul 5. offended at theſe Decrees.

Now *Paul* the fifth coming to the Pontificial Chair, not able to paſs by, ſaid he, all theſe attempts of the Secular Eſtate on the Eccleſiaſticks, diſpatched at the ſame time two Briefs to his *Nuntio* of *Venice*: One containing the revocation of the Decrees made by the *Signory* touching the purchaſing of temporal Eſtates; and the other commanding the ſending back the Abbot and the Canon to the Court of the Church.

He ſends Briefs to revoke them.

The *Nuntio* ſignified theſe Briefs to the *Signory*; who anſwered boldly, That their Authority was born with them; That no perſon but they had to do with it; and, That they ſhould know how to maintain it againſt any would enterprize to oppoſe it. Both the one and the other employed the beſt Pens of the time to defend their Rights, and confute the Defences of their Adverſaries. There were ſpread abroad every where great quantities of

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Manifesto's and Treaties, full of reasons of Right, passages of holy Scripture, Authorities of Fathers and Councils, and Examples drawn from History. Part III.

In the mean time the Pope extremely offended at this answer, thunders out an Excommunication against the Duke and the Senate, if within four and twenty days they revoked not their Decrees, and consigned the prisoners into the hands of the Nuntio. The *Signory* was not at all moved at it, but boldly declared the sentence of Excommunication Null and abusive; nor was there any Ecclesiastick in their whole Territories who would attempt the publishing it, or durst observe the Interdict, or make Divine Service cease. There were only the *Capuchins* and the *Jesuites*, who resolved to depart, and demand leave of the *Signory*. They granted it to the *Capuchins*, with liberty to return when they pleased; and to the *Jesuites*, with prohibitions of ever re-entring their Dominions.

He Excommunicates the Senate.

They declare his sentence of Excommunication null and abusive.

Things being thus embroyled to the utmost between these two powers, the *Spaniards* look't out with a sharp eye, to make their profit of these divisions; and underhand cast oyl into the fire, though openly they made shew of extinguishing it. For on the one side they encouraged the *Venetians*, and heartned them up to maintain their rights; and on the other, they commanded their Governours of *Naples* and *Milan* to serve the holy Father with

1607.

Part III. with all their powers. *Henry* the Great more sincere and more dis-interested, embraced this occasion, to establish his power in *Italy*, in a more fair and just manner. He assured the Pope, that as the true Eldest Son of the Church, he would always sustain its Interests; and that in case of rupture, he would go himself in person with an Army of forty thousand men: but he intreated him that before it came to that, he would grant that he should try all means possible for an accommodation.

Henry the great undertakes to accommodate the difference.

He answered likewise to the Ambassador of *Venice*, who demanded his assistance, that he ought it to the holy Father in prejudice of all others: And therefore he exhorted the *Signory* to give him content; which that they might do without wounding their honour or rights, he desired to be Mediator.

Both parties having accepted his Mediation, he dispatched the Cardinal *Joyeuse* into *Italy*; who, to speak all in two words, managed this Negotiation with so much Prudence, that in the end he concluded an accord. The Treaty contained four Principal Articles. 1. That the *Signory* should consign the two prisoners into the hands of the Ambassador of *France*, to remit them to his Holiness. 2. That they should revoke the Manifesto and Declaration they had made against the Apostolick Censures. 3. That they should re-establish all Ecclesiasticks in their goods. 4. That the Pope should give them absolu-

He sends to this purpose Cardinal *Joyeuse*, who concludes an accommodation.

tion

tion; and that in requital, they should send to thank him by a Noble Embassy, and assure him of their filial obedience. Part III.

On the morrow the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* coming to the place assigned by the Senate, the doors being shut, in the presence of the Duke and five and twenty Senators, and the Ambassador of *France*, revoked the Excommunication, and gave Absolution to the *Signory*. All these things passed without the *Spaniards* having the least participation, though they endeavoured to make themselves of the Feast. Thus had both parties some sort of contentment, by the intermission of *Henry* the Great. The Pope absolves the *Signory*.

There was only the business of the *Jesuites*, which for some months retarded the Treaty, and which some thought would have quite broke it; because the Pope considering that they were driven away for his sake, absolutely resolved that the *Signory* should re-establish them in their houses and in their goods: and they were as obstinate, rather to hazard all then to consent to it. In fine, the Pope perswaded by the Eloquence of Cardinal *Perron*, who was then at *Rome*, thought it better to release this point, then hazard the putting *Christendom* in a flame; so that they remained banished out of the lands of the *Signory*. The present Pope, *Alexander* the seventh, hath by his intercession re-established them. There was nothing but the re-establishment of the *Jesuites* not obtained.

If

Part III. 1608. If the accommodation of the differences between the Pope and the *Venetians* added much to the renown and reputation of our *Henry*, reviving the credit of *France* beyond the mountains, where it seemed dead, and depressing as much that of the *Spaniards*, which before seemed Paramount; the Treaty which he managed between the King of *Spain* and the Estates of the United Provinces, purchased him no less fame among the Protestants and the people of the North. I will recount the History in few words.

The King endeavours an accommodation between the Hollander and Spaniard.

The United Provinces, vulgarly called *Holland*, from the name of the most considerable of the Seven Provinces which compose this body, had some reason to complain, that the King had made the Treaty at *Vervins* without their consent; and that he had obliged himself not to assist them, neither directly nor indirectly. However he had not ceased to supply them daily with money, and to cause to go to their Service a great quantity of Nobility and Voluntiers, in such manner that there were many entire *French* Regiments. So that it was not without apparent reason that the *Spaniards* cried out, that he visibly infringed the Treaty at *Vervins*: but these reproaches were not just; for they had broke it first by an hundred attempts, of which we have before mentioned some.

He underhand assists the Hollander with men and money.

Jeanin sent for this accommodation.

In the mean time, the King who was a good husband of his money, was weary of furnishing the *Hollander* with so much, and did

did greatly wish them in an Estate that they might not put him to so much charge. There was onely one way to effect it, which was procuring their peace from the *Spaniards*. He resolved then to labour in it; and chose the President *Janin*, a man of great knowledge, to manage this Negotiation. Part III.

They come presently to an eight months truce.

The two parties presently consented to a Treaty of eight months; during which the Estates, to the end they might Treat with more reputation and security, prayed the King to grant them an offensive and defensive League. He willingly granted it them: of which these were the Principal Articles.

The King makes an offensive and defensive League with the *Hollander*.

He promised them faithfully to assist and aid them in all he could, to obtain from the King of *Spain* a good and assured peace. That if it pleased God they did obtain it, he would cause it to be observed with all his power; and would defend them against all who would infringe it; and to this effect he would maintain in their Service ten thousand Footmen at his own charges, so long as they should have need of them. Reciprocally the States obliged, that if he were assaulted in his Kingdom by whosoever it were, they would immediately assist him with five thousand Footmen at their own Expence: and they would leave it to the Kings choice, to take this assistance in Souldiers, or in Ships fitted and furnished at all points to fight at Sea.

The *Spaniards* Alarm'd at this League.

The *Spaniards* were extremely Alarm'd at

Part III. at this League. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the greatest Lords of *Spain*, passing through *France* to go to the Low-Countries, made great complaints to the King: Nevertheless, many imagined that all the noyse he made, tended onely to oblige him the rather to prosecute the peace for the *Hollanders*: for *Spain* was even to extremity wearied with a war so long, so tiresome and so bloody, with so great Expences and so little progress.

Don Pedro de Toledo makes great complaints to the King.

This *Don Pedro* according to the humour of the *Spanish* Nobility, was of an austere and grave countenance, high and magnificent in his words, when he spoke of the honour and glory of his Nation, and the power of his King: but out of that, courteous and civil, submissive and respectful where he should be so, gallant, witty and spriteful. There passed between the King and him, things very remarkable, which we must not forget.

The King believing that he brought him threats of War, and knowing that the *Spaniards* had spread abroad a report that he was quite lame with the Gout, and unable to mount on horseback; he would make him know that his strength and activity was not at all diminished. He received him in the great Gallery at *Fontain-bleau*, and made him take twenty or thirty turns at so great a pace, that he put him out of breath; and after told him, *You see now, Sir, how well I am.*

Things very curious which passed betwixt the King and *Don Pedro*.

At

At this first Audience *Don Pedro* brought his Beads in his hand. He represented to the King the general interest that all Catholick Princes had in the ruine or conversion of Hereticks, and the great Wars which his Master had made for this purpose. Afterward changing his discourse, he told him, that the Catholick King earnestly desired to Allie himself more strictly with him, and to make marriages between their children, Provided that the King would renounce the Alliance and Protection of the Low-Countries. The King freely answered, that his children were of so good a house as might well be accepted; that he desired no constrained friendships nor conditions; that he could not abandon his friends; but that those who would not be so, might repent them of being his enemies. Part III. Their entertainments.

Don Pedro upon this exalted the greatness and power of *Spain*. The King without being moved let him know that it was the Statue of *Nebuchadnezzar*, composed of several sorts of matters, and which had its feet of Clay. *Don Pedro* came to reproaches and threats. The King soon gave him his change, and told him, That if the King of *Spain* continued his attempts, he would carry flames even into the *Escurial*; and that if he once mounted on horseback, he would soon be at *Madrid*. The *Spaniard* arrogantly answered him, *King Francis was there indeed. It was therefore*, replyed the King, *that I would go to revenge his injuries, those of France, and my own.* Lively and quick replies.

After

Part III. After some words a little high, the King with a more still voice told him; *My Lord Ambassador, you are a Spaniard, and I a Gascon, let not us grow passionate.* They returned then to terms of sweetness and civility.

Another time the King shewing him his Buildings at *Fontain-bleau*, and demanding of him what he thought of them? he replyed, that in his opinion he had lodged God very narrowly. There was then but two Chappels, which were in the Court, made in oval, and which were truly very little. The King could not endure to have his piety accused; and therefore answered him very sharply: *You* Spaniards *know not how to give God other then Material Temples; we* French-*men lodge God not onely in stones, we lodge him in our hearts: but though he should be lodged in yours, I fear it would be in stone still.*

From *Fontain-bleau* they came to *Paris*, where the King one day shewing him his Gallery of the *Louvre*, and demanding his opinion of it; *The Escurial is much another thing*, said *Don Pedro*. *I believe it*, replyed the King; *but has it a* Paris *about it like my Gallery?*

Don Pedro kisses the Kings Sword.

One day *Don Pedro* seeing at the *Louvre* the Kings Sword in the hands of one of his followers, advanced to it, and putting one knee on the ground, kissed it; *rendring this honour*, said he, *to the most glorious Sword in Christendom.*

During the truce of eight months, of which we have spoken, the President *Janin* incessantly laboured for a Treaty. There were

two

two great difficulties; one, that the King of *Spain* would not treat with the United Provinces, but as with Subjects; and they would have him acknowledge them to be free and independent: the other, that the Prince of *Orange*, whose power and authority would be extremely weakned by the Peace, opposed it by a thousand Artifices, being sustained in it by the Province of *Zealand*, who ever desired War, and by some Cities of its faction. Part III. Two obstacles in the Treaty of the *Hollanders* surmounted by the King.

These two obstacles were in the end surmounted. The *Spaniard* yeilded to the first, and acknowledged that he owned the States for Free States, Provinces, and Countries: and about the second, the King spoke so high to the Prince of *Orange*, that he durst not stop the course of the Treaty. It ended no longer however in a Peace, but onely in a Truce of twelve years, which was free and assured Commerce on one part and on the other. The Treaty ends in a twelve years Truce.

The renown of this accommodation carried the Kings glory throughout all *Europe*. The Duke of *Venice* told our Ambassador in the Senate, *That that* Signory *entred into new admiration of the prudent conduct of our King, who never deceived himself in his undertaking, nor never gave blow in vain: that he was the true upholder of the repose and felicity of Christendom; and that it had nothing of happiness to desire, but that he might reign for ever.* An Elogie so much the more worthy and glorious, because we may say with truth, that *Venice* hath Great praise given by the republick of *Venice* to our Henry.

Part III. still been the Seat of Politick wisdome, and that the prayses which came from that Senate, are as so many Oracles.

All desire his friendship and protection.

The Friendship and Protection of this great King was sought on all sides; all was referred to his Arbitration, and all implored his assistance. And as he was equally powerful as wise, feared as loved; there was none who durst contradict his judgement, or assault those whom he protected. But he was so just, that he would not enterprize any thing upon the Rights of another, nor maintain the Rebellions of Subjects against their Soveraign: A certain proof of which he gave to the *Mauriſques*.

He will not protect Subjects against their Soveraign.

It is known how heretofore the *Moores* or *Saracins* invaded all *Spain*, towards the year 725. The *Chriſtians* with the aid of the *French*, had regained it from them by little and little; so that there remained no more then the Kingdom of *Granada*, which was little in Extent, but very rich, and extremely populous, because all the remnants of that Infidel Nation were retired into that little space. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Iſabella* Queen of *Caſtile*, finished the Conquest of that Kingdom, in the year 1492. and so put an end to the Government of the *Moores*, and to the *Mahumetan* Religion in *Spain*; constraining the Infidels to take Baptism, or to retire into *Affrica*.

What the *Mauriſques* were.

Now as those who had thus professed the *Chriſtian* Religion had done it perforce,

they for the most part remained *Mahometans* in their hearts, or *Jews* (for there were many *Jews* amongst them) and secretly brought up their children in their incredulity. To which likewise the *Spanish* Rigor did much contribute, putting great distinction between the new Christians and the old: For they received not the new ones either to Charges or Sacred Orders; they allied not themselves with them, and, which is worse, made a thousand * *avanies* upon them, and oppressed them with excessive Imposts. So that these unfortunate people seeing themselves thus trampled on, and being too weak of themselves to loosen themselves from their Yoak, they resolved to address themselves to some strange power, but which should be Christian; because that of the King of *Morocco*, or the other Princes of *Affrica*, would have appeared too odious. To this effect they had secret recourse by Deputies to our *Henry*, when he was then but King of *Navarre*. Afterwards in the year 1595. when they saw that he had overcome the League, and had got the upper hand in his affairs, they again implored his Protection. He hearkned favourably to their propositions; sent disguised Agents into *Spain*, to see the Estate of their affairs; and made them hope that he would assist them. And truly he might have done it, since then he was in War with the King of *Spain*; and it is lawful to make use of all sorts of Arms, to defend our selves against

Part III.

The *Spaniards* treat them ill.

* *An avanie is, when by a false accusation money is forced from any person.*

They demand assistance of *Henry* the Great.

Part III. our enemies. But now being returned this year 1608. to sollicite him instantly to accept their propositions and offers, and to hear the answer from his own mouth; he plainly let them know, that the quality of *thrice-Christian* King which he bore, permitted him not to undertake their defence, so long as the peace of *Vervin* lasted; but that if the *Spaniard* should first openly infringe it, he should have just cause to receive them into his Protection.

He refuses it.

Their Deputies having lost all hopes on this side, addressed themselves to the King of *England*, whom they found yet less disposed then he, to lend them assistance. In the mean time their plots having taken wind in the Court of *Spain*, caused both fear and astonishment: for they were near a million of souls, and were possessed of almost all the Traffick, particularly that of Oiles, which is very great in that Country.

King *Philip* the third found no other secure way to hinder the dangerous effects of their conspiracies, but banishing them quite out of his Territories; which he did by an Edict of the tenth of *January*, in the year 1610. which was executed with much cruelty, Inhumanity and Treachery. For in Transporting these unfortunate people into *Affrica* as they had demanded, part were drowned in the Sea, others despoiled of all they had: so that those who remained to depart, perceiving the ill Treatment of their Com-

The King of *Spain* banisheth them all.

They are horribly ill Treated by the *Spaniards*,

Companions, fled towards *France*: one part by land to St. *John de Lus*, to the number of one hundred and fifty thousand; others in *French* Vessels, who brought them into divers ports of the Kingdom. But to speak truth, those who came by land were not much better treated by the *French*, then the others had been by the *Spaniards*: for in crossing the Countries, they were almost all robbed and stript, and their Wives and Daughters ravished: so that finding so little safety in a Country wherein they believed they might find refuge, they embarqued by the Kings permission in the Ports of *Languedoc*, and crossed over into *Affrica*, where they are become implacable and most cruel enemies to all Christians. There remained some families in the Maritime Cities of the Kingdom, as in *Bourdeaux* and *Rouen*; where it is suspected there is yet some of their Children, who privately follow the obstinacy of their Fathers.

Part III.

and by the *French*.

They are carried into *Affrica*, but some stay in *France*.

Much contrary to the taking the protection of these Infidels, the King was about very great designes for the glory and extent of the Christian Religion towards the *Levant*. But he would not declare himself, till he had so ordered the Affairs of *Christendome*, that there should be no fear of any trouble or division, and that it might make use of all its forces against so powerful an enemy as the *Grand Signor*. Out of these thoughts, he had sent three or four Gentlemen into the *Levant*, who under the pretext of travelling and visiting the holy

The great designe of *Henry* 4. for the extent of the Christian Religion in the *Levant*.

He sends some to spy the Country.

Part III. holy places, might take notice of the Country, the disposition of the people, the estate of their Forces, the Garisons and Government of the Turks. Which having well considered, he promised himself, that after having composed the interests, and procured the union of the Christian Princes; he might in three or four years at most ruine this power esteemed so terrible; and that with an Army of five and thirty thousand foot men, and twelve thousand horse onely: *Alexander* the Great not having had more Forbes to destroy the Empire of the *Persians*, which without doubt was greater and more powerful then that of the *Turks*.

I shall declare what his great designe for the re-union of *Christendome* was, when I shall in brief have observed some important things which passed in the three or four last years of his Life.

He seeks means to raise mony without burthening his people.

As he laboured diligently to heap up money, the Nerves of War, so he hearkned to all Propositions made for the gaining it; so much the more willingly, because his designe was to abolish all Taxes and Impositions. The first could not be done without much diminishing his Revenue; so it was necessary to find some other foundation in its place. Now this stock or foundation was the Demains of the Crown, which he would entirely disengage & encrease by a great quantity of new rights, and particularly by that of the * *Greffes*, which had been quite withdrawn for five or six years, but had brought him fifteen Millions a year. But when he

He would disengage his demain,

**The Greffes is a due to the King of 63 s. 9 d. Tours upon the sale of wood in several places.*

he was dead, Queen *Mary de Medicis* re-engaged it further then it was before. Part III.

It is certainly worth our wishing, that this sacred Patrimony of the Crown might be regained; and that care were taken to re-gather this Mass, which the Law of the Realm, and the diligences of so many wise Heads, have made and composed for the space of so many Ages, to maintain our Kings with splendour and magnificence, without being a charge to their Kingdome, except in great and urgent necessities.

and take off the Impost by buying the Salt-Marishes.

As for the Impost, our *Henry* had a desire to buy from the particular Owners all the Salt-Marishes of *Poictou* and *Britanny*; and then when he had them in his hand, sell the Salt upon the place at what price he pleased to the Merchant, who should again retail it through the whole Kingdom, as they do Corn, without any constraint or imposition. In this manner there had been no need of so many Officers, Overseers, Controllers, Factors, and a hundred other people, which without fallacy amounted to near twenty thousand, all fed and paid at the expence of the King and Publick, and against whom he had often very great complaints. Thus the poor Country-people would not be burthened by them with imposed Salt, constraining them, will they, nill they, to take yearly a certain quantity: and it is certain the people would have had it four times better cheap then they have, and the King have raised much more money then he doth, without expence, without pains, and with-

Part III. without the vexation of his subjects.

Now the King seeking means to fill his Coffers, and to finde some other way then Taxes, it must be acknowledged that he made some Impostes, and likewise some creation of Officers; but that he removed many things which gave cause of complaint to many persons. And moreover, to pay his ancient Debts, and acquit himself of the recompences and pensions due to those which had served him in his Wars against the League, he was constrained to pass for their profit the advice of several things which they proposed: so that he loaded himself with that envy and those reproaches, which ought more justly have fallen upon those people then on himself. But those who knew his intentions, blamed him not as did the others: for they called that good husbandry and wise œconomy, which some termed avarice and insatiable covetousness.

He is constrained to acquit himself of old scores, to make some new impostes & creations.

Moreover, though the will of this Prince was very good for the ease of his people, and for the grandeur of his Estate; nevertheless it cannot be denied but he was sometimes deceived in the choice of the means; and that all those whereby he furnished himself, were not always as innocent as his intentions. He had two particularly, of which the one made some noise, but never succeeded; and the other was of very dangerous consequence.

He makes not always use of innocent means.

The first, was an inquisition of the Rents of the * *Hostel de Ville*, by which he pretended to make those loose them, who had ill gained them;

Inquisition of the rents of the City-house cause disturbance.

* *Hostel de Ville is the same at* Paris, *as Guild-hall at* London.

them; and this in it self was very just: but Part III.
most part of the Rents having changed Owners, or been parted, he must of force trouble an infinite number of Families: so that all *Paris* was moved at it, and the Landlords had recourse to their Provost of the Merchants. This was *Miron*, who was likewise *Civil Lieutenant*; a man very zealous for the service of the King, as he had demonstrated in several occasions: but withal, a very honest Man, and one whom no interest in the world could bribe against the peoples, whose Magistrate he was. In sum, he sustained it stoutly, he spoke in the Assemblies of the *Hostel de Ville*, acted with the Superintendent with like vigour, and made Remonstrances to the King. But in these Remonstrances, too much heat transported him to make some odious Comparisons, not of the Kings person, but of some people of his Council.

Miron, Provost of the Merchants, sustains the interest of the people.

The *Louvre* stormed; the people of the Court cryed out, that he had blasphemed those whom he had taken notice of in his speeches. And those who were interested in this inquisition after Rents, used all their endeavours to incense the King, and to perswade him to punish rigorously this boldness. On the other side, the people having understood that their Magistrate was threatned, took fire sooner then it was believed: the Burgesses came in troops about his house to defend it. *Miron* instantly entreated them to retire, and not to make him Criminal. He remonstrated to

Some would incense the King against him.

The people rise to defend him.

to them, that he feared nothing; that they had to do with a King as sweet and just as he was great and wise, and who would not let himself be carried away by the perswasions of ill Counsellors.

The King counselled to take him by force.

Upon this, those who wished him ill, employed all their endeavours to engage the King to take him by force, and to make a lick his supreme Authority: but he wisely answered these people, That Authority doth not always consist in prosecuting things to the utmost extremity: That the time, the persons, and the cause, ought to be regarded: That having been ten years extinguishing the fire of civil War, he feared even the least sparkles: That Paris had cost him too much, to hazard the least danger of loosing it; which seemed to him infallible, if he followed their counsel, because he should be obliged to make terrible examples, which would in few days deprive him of the glory of his Clemency, and the love of his people, which he prized as much as, nay above, his Crown: That he had in an hundred other occasions made proof of the fidelity and honesty of Marcin, who had no ill intention; but without doubt he believed himself obliged by the duty of his Charge, to do what he did: That if some inconsiderate words had escaped him, he might well pardon them for his past services: That after all, if this man affected to be the Martyr of the people, he would not give him that glory, nor accrue to himself the name of Persecutor or Tyrant: And that in

The Kings wise answer worthy a great Politick.

fine,

fine, he would not prosecute a man whom he Part III.
would resolve to choose, in so advantagious occasions.

Thus this wise King knew how prudently to dissemble a little fault: nor would he understand what passed, for fear of being obliged to some blow of Authority, which might possibly have had dangerous consequences. He received therefore very favourably the excuses and humble submissions of *Miron*; and after prohibited the farther pursuing the inquisitions of Rents, which had caused so much trouble. He will not pursue this business of the Rents.

The second means of which he served himself to raise money, and which was of very dangerous consequence, was the *Paulet*, or Annual Right. To understand this business well, we must make some recital of things further off. Establishment of the *Paulet*, a Tax.

The Offices of Judicature, of Police, and of the Revenues, had formerly been inclosed in *Fiefs* under the first and second Race of our Kings, by Gentlemen: for the Nobility was obliged to study and understand the Laws of the Kingdom. They were chosen for the maturity of their Age and Judgement: they were changed from time to time, from one seat to another: nor took they any Fees from Parties, but only a Salary very moderate; which the Publick paid them rather for honour then recompence. Afterwards in the end of the second Race, and the beginning of the third, the Nobility becoming ignorant and Justice formerly administred in *France* by Gentlemen.

weak

Part III. How it fell into the hands of the Plebeians, who made profit of it.

weak together, the Plebeians and Burgesses having learnt the knowledge of the Laws, raised themselves by little and little to these Charges, and began to make them better worth, because they drew all their Honour and all their Dignity thence, not having any other by their birth, as the Gentlemen had. Yet they had not over-much employment; for the Churchmen possessed almost all the Jurisdiction, and had their Officers which administred Justice.

The Parliament of *France* meddle with particular affairs, and is made sedentary at *Paris*.

In the mean time, the Parliament, which before was as the Council of Estate of the Kingdom, and an Epitomy of the general Estates, taking upon them to trouble themselves with the knowledge of differences between particular persons, whereas before they onely treated of great Affairs of Policy; *Philip* the fair, or according to some others, *Lewis Hutin* his son, made it sedentary at *Paris*. Now this Company of Judges being most illustrious, because the King often took seat amongst them, the Dukes, Peers and Prelates of the Realm made a part of them, and that the most able people for Law were chosen to fill places there; they made depend upon them all the power of other Judges-Royal; to wit, the Bayliffs and Seneschals, who though before Soveraign Judges, became now Subalternate to them.

They make all other Judges subalternate to them.

Long time after, our other Kings created likewise at divers times many other Parliaments, but out of a sole intention the better to distribute Justice without any pecuniary in-

interest: for by it they charged their Coffers with new Wages, to be paid these new Officers. Part III.

At this time the number of the Officers of Justice was very small; and the order which was observed to fill the vacancies in Parliament, perfectly good. The custome was, to keep a Register of all the able Advocates and Lawyers; and when any Office came to be vacant, they chose three, whose Names they carried to the King, who preferred him he pleased. But the Favourites and the Courtiers soon corrupted this Order: they perswaded the Kings not to confine themselves to those presented, but to name one of their proper motion: which those people did, to draw some present from him who should be named by their recommendation. And the abuse was so great, that oftentimes the Charges were filled with ignorant People and Porters; by reason of which, people of merit held the condition of an Advocate much more honourable then that of a Counsellour. The number of the Officers of Parliament small.

The mischief dayly encreasing, and the rich people becoming extreamly liquorish of these Charges for lucre, and their Wives out of vanity, those who governed began to make a Merchandize of them, and to draw money from them. Thus under *Lewis* the *xii.* his Coffers being exhausted by the long Wars of *Italy*; the Offices of the Revenue began to become vendible. However, that good King having soon foreseen the dangerous consequence, How Offices became vendible

Part III. under *Francis* 1. and *Henry* 2.

quence, resolved to re-imburse those who had bought them: but dying in that good design, *Francis* the first, of whom he had well predicted that he would * spoile all, sold likewise those of Judicature: afterwards new ones were at several times created, onely of purpose to raise money.

* *He had often said, That fat Boy would spoile all.*

Afterward *Henry* the second his Son created the Presidents; and *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third heaping ill upon ill, and ruine upon ruine, made a great number of other Creations of all sorts, to have these Wares to sell. And moreover, they sold Offices when they were vacant, either by death or forfeiture.

Hitherto the ill was great, but not incurable: a part of these Offices need onely have been suppressed, when they became vacant; and the rest when so, filled with persons of capacity and merit. Thus in twenty years, this Ants-nest of Officers might have been reduced to a very little number, and those as honest people.

How this might be remedied.

But the business was not in this manner made known to *Henry* the Great: they represented it to him in another sense. They let him understand, that since he drew no profit from vacant Offices, being almost always obliged to give them, he would do well to finde the means to discharge that way his Coffers of a part of the Wages he paid his Officers; which he might do, by granting them their Offices for their Heirs; reserving a moderate sum of mo-

money which they should yearly pay, yet without constraining any person so that it should be a favour, and not an oppression. This was named the Annual Right, otherwise the *Paulete*, from the name of the proposer, named *Paulet*, who gave the Counsel, and was the first Farmer. All the Officers were not wanting to pay this Right, to assure their Offices to their heirs. Part. III. But on the contrary is made incurable by the *Paulete*.

We need not here tell the mischiefs and inconveniencies which this wicked invention hath caused, and doth daily cause. The most stupid may easily know them, and see well that it is a disease whose remedy at present is difficult. Which causes great abuses.

I will not charge this History with all the Ceremonies and Rejoycings made at the Birth and Baptism of all the Children of *Henry* the Great; nor at divers Marriages of the Princes and Grandees of the Court, amongst others of the Prince of *Conde*, and the Duke of *Vendosme*, which were made in the Month of *July*, 1609.

The Prince of *Conde* Espoused *Charlotta Margarita* of *Montmorency*, Daughter of the Constable; who was wonderfully fair, and had a presence absolutely noble: which the King having considered, was more lively struck with her, then he had ever been with any other; which caused a little after, the retreat of the Prince of *Conde*, who carried her into *Flanders*, and thence retired to *Milain*. Not without the Kings extreme displeasure, 1609. Marriage of the Prince of *Conde*.

to

Part III. to see the first Prince of his blood cast himself into his enemies hands.

And of the Duke of *Vendosme.*

The Duke of *Vendosme* Espoused *Mademoiselle de Mercœur*, to whom he had been affianced since the year one thousand six hundred ninety seven, as we have said before; however, the Mother of the Lady standing upon high punctilio's of honour, brought many troubles to the accomplishment of this Marriage; so that it had never been made, had not the King highly concerned himself in it. This was none of the least difficulties of his life: for he had a high and obstinate spirit to bend; however, he employed only ways of sweetness and perswasion; acting in this business, only as a Father who loved his Son, and not as a King who would be obeyed.

What were the Kings divertisements.

Now will I speak of his ordinary divertisements, Hunting, Building, Feasts, Play, and Walking. I will adde only, That in Feasts and Merriments he would appear as good a Companion, and as Jovial as another: That he was of a merry humour when he had the glass in his hand, though very sober: That his Mirth and good Discourses were the delicatest part of the good Chear: That he witnessed no less Agility and Strength in Combats at the Barriers, Courses at the Ring, and all sorts of Gallantries, then the youngest Lords: That he took delight in Balls, and Danced sometimes; but to speak the truth, with more affection then good grace. Some carped that so great a Prince should abase himself to

such

such follies, and that a Grey-beard should please to act the young man. It may be said for his excuse, that the great toiles of his spirit had need of these divertisements. But I know not what to answer to those who reproach him with too great a love to playing at Cards and Dice, little befitting a great King; and that withal he was no fair Gamester, but greedy of Coin, fearful at great Stakes, and humorous upon a loss. To this I must acknowledge, that it was a faule in this great King, who was no more exempt from Blots, then the Sun from Beams. Part III.

He loved Play too much.

It might be wished for the honour of his memory, that he had been only guilty of this; but that continual weakness he had for fair Ladies: was another much more blamable in a Christian Prince, in a man of his age, who was married; to whom God had shewed so many graces, and who had conceived such great designs in his spirit. Sometimes he had desires which were passant, and only fixt for a night: but when he met with beauties which struck him to the heart, he loved even to folly; and in these transports appeared nothing less then *Henry* the Great.

He was extremely given to women.

The Fable saies that *Hercules* took the Spindle and Spun, for the love of the fair *Omphale*. *Henry* did something more mean for his Mistresses. He once disguised himself like a Country-man, with a Wallet of straw on his back, to come to the fair *Gabriella*. And it hath been reported, that the Marchioness

This passion made him do shameful things.

Part III. of *Vermeuil* hath seen him more then once at her feet, weeping his disdains and injuries.

Three or four of his Mistresses.

Twenty Romances might be made of the intrigues of his several loves with the Countess of *Guiche*, when he was yet but King of *Navarre*; with *Jacqueline* of *Bueil*, whom he made Countess of *Moret*; and with *Charlotte d' Essards*, without counting many other Ladies, who held it a glory to have some Charm for so great a King.

This causes often contentions with his wife.

The high esteem and affection which the *French* had for him, hindred them from being offended at so scandalous a liberty: but the Queen his wife was extremely perplexed at it; which hourly caused controversies between them, and carried her to disdains and troublesom humours. The King, who was in fault, endured it very patiently, and employed his greatest Confidents, and sometimes his Confessor, to appease his spirit. So that he had continually a reconciliation to make. And these contentions were so ordinary, that the Court which at first were astonished at them, in the end took no more notice.

Conjugal duty without doubt obliged the King not to violate his faith to his Legitimate Spouse, at least not to keep his Mistresses in her sight: but if he in this point ought to have been a good husband, so he ought to be likewise in that of Authority, and in accustoming his wife to obey him with more submission, and not perplex him as she did with hourly complaints, reproaches, and sometimes threats.

The

The trouble and displeasure of these domestick broiles, certainly retarded the Execution of that great design which he had formed for the good and perpetual repose of *Christendom*, and in fine for the destruction of the *Ottoman* power. Part III. And hinders his great design.

Many have spoken diversely; but see here what I find in the *Memoires* or Notes of the Duke of *Sully*; who certainly must know something, being as he was, so great a Confident of this Kings: which makes me report it from him. What that was.

The King (said he) desiring to put in Execution those projects he had conceived after the Peace of *Vervin*, believed that he ought first to establish in his Kingdom an unshaken Peace, by reconciling all spirits both to him and among themselves, and taking away all causes of bitterness. And that moreover it was necessary for him to choose people capable and faithful; who might see in what his Revenue or Estate might be bettered, and instruct him so well in all his Affairs, that he might of himself take Counsels, and discern the good from the ill, feasible from impossible enterprizes, and such as were proportionate to his Revenues. "For an expence made be- "yond them, draws the peoples curses, "and those are ordinarily followed by "Gods. The means with which he served himself, to put it in Execution. To this purpose he grants an Edict to the *Hugonots*, and pays his debts.

He granted an Edict to the *Hugonots*, that the two Religions might live in Peace. Afterwards he made a certain and fixed Or-

Part III. der to pay his debts, and those of the Kingdom contracted by the disorders of the times, the profusions of his Ancestors, and by the payments and purchases of men and places which he was forced to make during the League. *Sully* shewed him an account in the year 1607. by which appeared Acquittances for eighty seven Millions: which established the reputation and credit of *France* among strangers, by whom it was before much cried out upon.

Which regains the reputation and credit of *France*.

He joyns to him all *Christian* Princes by promising his conquests.

That done, he continually laboured to joyn in his great design all *Christian* Princes, offering to give them all the fruit of his Enterprizes against the Infidels, without reserving any thing for himself: for he would not, said he, have other Estates then *France*.

He reunites them, by accommodating their differences.

He likewise proposed to himself the seeking of all occasions to extinguish disorders, and to pacifie differences among the *Christian* Princes, so soon as they should see them conceived; and that without any other interest, then that of the Reputation of a Prince Generous, dis-interested, wise and just.

The Princes he made his friends.

He began to make his Friends and Associates the Princes and Estates which seemed best disposed towards *France*, and the least indisposed to its interests; as the Estates of *Holland*, or the United Provinces; the *Venetians*, the *Swisses*, and the *Grisons*. After having bound them to him by very strong ties, he endeavoured to negotiate with the three

puissant

puiſſant Kingdoms of the North, *England*, *Denmark* and *Swedeland*; to diſcuſs and decide their differences, and likewiſe to endeavour to reconcile them to the Pope, or at leaſt to obtain a ceſſation of that hatred and enmity by ſome formulary, in ſuch manner as they might live together: ſo that it had been advantagious to the Pope, in that they had acknowledged him for the firſt Prince of *Chriſtendome* as to Temporals, and in that caſe rendred him all reſpect. He endeavoured in fine to do the ſame thing among the Electors, the Eſtates and Cities Imperial; being obliged particularly, ſaid he, to take care of an Empire had been founded by his Predeceſſours. Afterwards he ſounded the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania* and *Poland*, to know if they would concur with him in the deſigne of taking away and rooting up for ever all cauſes of trouble and diviſion in *Chriſtendom*. He treated after that with the Pope, who approved and praiſed his Enterprize, and deſired to contribute on his part all that ſhould bepoſſible.

Part III.

How he would have accommodated the Proteſtant Princes with the Pope.

He treats with the Electors.

With the Lords of *Bohemia*, *Hungary* & *Poland*.

With the Pope.

Theſe were the diſpoſitions of his great deſigne, of which I ſhall now ſhew you the platform and model.

He deſired perfectly to unite all *Chriſtendom*, ſo that it ſhould be one body, which had been and ſhould be called the *Chriſtian Commonwealth*: for which effect he had determined to part it into fifteen Dominions or Eſtates; which was the moſt he could do to make them of equal power and ſtrength, and whoſe limits

Model of the deſigne of Hen. 4.

He would part *Chriſtendome* into fifteen equal Dominions.

Part III. should be so well specified by the universal consent of the whole fifteen, that none could pass beyond them. These fifteen Dominations were the *Pontificate* or *Papacy*, the Empire of *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Swedeland*, *Savoy*, or the Kingdom of *Lombardy*, the *Signory* of *Venice*, the *Italian* Commonwealth, or of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*, the *Belgians* or *Low-Countries*, and the *Swisses*.

To wit, eleven Kingdoms, and four Republicks.

Of these Estates, there had been five successive; *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, *Swedeland* and *Lumbardy*: six elective; the *Papacy*, the *Empire*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland* and *Denmark*: four Republicks; two of which had been *Democratical*, to wit, the *Belgians* and the *Swisses*; and two *Aristocratical* or *Signories*, that of *Venice*, and that of the little Princes and Cities of *Italy*.

What the Pope had had.

The Pope had had besides those Lands he possesses, the whole Kingdome of *Naples*, and Homages as well of the *Italian* Commonwealth, as for the Island of *Sicily*.

The *Signory* of *Venice*.

The *Signory* of *Venice* had had *Sicily* in faith and homage of the holy Seat, without other rights then a simple kissing of feet, and a Crucifix of gold, from twenty years to twenty years.

The *Italian* Commonwealth.

The *Italian* Commonwealth had been composed of the Estates of *Florence*, *Genoua*, *Lucca*, *Mantoua*, *Parma*, *Modena*, *Monacho*, and other little Princes and Lords; and had likewise held of the holy Seat, paying onely for all by advance of a Crucifix of gold worth ten thousand Franks.

The

The Duke of *Savoy* besides those Lands he possessed, should likewise have *Milain*; and all should be erected into a Kingdom by the Pope, under the title of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*: from which should have been taken *Cremona* in exchange of *Montferrat*, which should be joyned. Part III. Duke of *Savoy*.

There should have been incorporated with the *Helvetian* or Republick of the *Swisses*, the *French County*, *Alsatia*, *Tirol*, the Country of *Trent* and their dependences; and it had done a simple homage to the Emperour of *Germany*, from five and twenty to five and twenty years. Republick of the *Swisses*.

All the seventeen Provinces of the Low-Countries, as well Protestants as Catholicks, should have been established into a free and soveraign Republick, save onely a like homage to the Empire: and this Dominion should have been encreased by the Dutchy of *Cleves*, of *Juliers*, of *Berghe*, *de la Mark*, and *Ravenstein*, and other little neighbouring *Signories*. The Low-Countries.

To the Kingdome of *Hungary* had been joyned the Estates of *Transylvania*, *Moldavia* and *Valachia*. Kingdome of *Hungary*.

The Emperour had for ever renounced aggrandizing himself or his by any confiscation, disinheritance or reversion of Fiefs Masculine; but had disposed vacant Fiefs in favour of persons out of his Kindred, by the consent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire. It should likewise have been held of accord that the Empire should never upon any occasion whatsoever The Empire with free election.

Part III. ever be held successively by two Princes of one house, for fear of its perpetuating, as it hath for a long time in that of *Austria*.

Bohemia & *Hungary* elective.

The Kingdome of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia* had been likewise elective by the voice of seven Electors; to wit, 1. that of the Nobles, Clergy, and Cities of that Country: 2. of the Pope: 3. of the Emperour: 4. of the King of *France*: 5. of the King of *Spain*: 6. of the King of *England*: 7. of the Kings of *Swedeland*, *Denmark* and *Poland*, who all three had made but one voice.

A general Council of sixty persons.

Besides, to regulate the differences which might arise between the Confederates, and to decide them without sight of Fact, there should have been established an Order and Form of Procedure by a general Council, composed of sixty persons, four on the part of every Dominion, which should have been placed in some City in the midst of *Europe*, as *Mets*, *Nancy*, *Collen*, or others. There should likewise have been established three others in three several places, every one of twenty men, which should all three make report to the grand Council.

Three others, of each twenty.

Order to hinder tyranny and rebellion,

Moreover, by the consent of the general Council, which should be called the Senate of the Christian Commonwealth, there should be established an Order and Regulation between Soveraigns and Subjects; to hinder on one side the Oppression and Tyranny of Princes; and on the other side, the Tumults and Rebellions of Subjects. There should likewise

wise be raised and assured a stock of money and men, to which every Dominion should contribute according to the Assessment of the great Council, for the assistance of the Dominions bordering upon Infidels from their Assaults, to wit, *Hungary* and *Poland* against those of the Turks; and *Swedeland* and *Poland* against the *Muscovites* and *Tartars.* Part III. and to assist the Provinces adjoyning to Infidels.

After when all these fifteen Dominions had been well established with their rights, their Governours and Limits; which he hoped might be done in less then three years: they should together of their own accord have chosen three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, who should all at once have assaulted the *Ottoman*-house; to which each Dominion should have contributed a certain quantity of Men, Ships, Artillery and Money, according to the Tax imposed. The sum in gross which they should furnish out, should amount to two hundred sixty five thousand foot-men, fifty thousand horse, a train of two hundred and seventeen pieces of Cannon, with Waggons, Officers, and Ammunition proportionable, and one hundred and seventeen great Ships, without counting Vessels of less force, Fire-ships, or Ships of burden. Three general Captains, two by Land, and one by Sea, to war against the Turks. What forces & what train.

This establishment would have been advantagious to all the Princes and Estates of *Europe:* There was onely the house of *Austria* which would suffer any loss, and which was to be despoiled to accommodate others. None but the house of *Austria* had suffered by this establishment.

But

Part III. But the project was laid to make them either willingly or by force consent, in this manner.

In *Italy* the Pope, *Venetians* and *Savoyard*, would consent:

First, it is to be supposed, that on the part of *Italy*, the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Savoy*; were well informed of the Kings designes, and that they ought to assist with all their forces; especially the *Savoyard*, who was moreover extreamly animated, because the King gave his Daughter in marriage to his son *Victor Amadeo*: In *Germany* four Electors; to wit, the *Palatine*, *Brandebourg*, *Colen*, and *Ments* were likewise to know it, and favour it: and the Duke of *Bavaria* had their word, and that of the King, to raise him to the Empire: and many Imperial Cities had already addressed themselves to the King, to beseech him to honour them with his protection, and to maintain them in their Priviledges, which had been abolished by the house of *Austria*: In *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* there was intelligence held with the Lords and Nobility; and that the people, desperate with the weight of that yoak, were ready to shake it off, and to relieve themselves on the first proffered occasion.

In *Germany* many Electors; and had chosen the Duke of *Bavaria* Emperour.

In *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, the Lords and Nobility.

The business of *Cleves* happens to give a beginning to the great designe.

All these dispositions being so favourable to him, the business of *Cleves* happened, of which we at present shall speak, which furnished him with a fair occasion to begin the execution of his projects: which he was to do in this manner.

Having raised an Army of forty thousand men, as he did, he was in his march to dispatch to-

towards all the Princes of *Christendome*, to give them the knowledge of his just and holy intentions. After, under the pretext of going to *Cleves*, he was to seize all the passages of *la Mense*, and all at once assault *Charlemont*, *Mastrich*, and *Namur*, which were but ill fortified. At the same time the Cities of the Low-Countries had cryed out for liberty, and the Lords put themselves in the Field for the same purpose, and had blazoned the *Belgique* Lyon with the *Flowers de Lis*. The *Hollanders* had infested the Coasts with their Ships in very great number, to hinder the Traffick of the *Flemins* by Sea, as it was shut up by the *French* by Land: which should have been done of purpose to hasten the people to shake off the *Spanish* Rule, and to address themselves to the King and to the Princes his Associates, to pray the King of *Spain* to put them in liberty, and out of his goodness to restore peace to them, which they could never hope so long as they were under his Dominion. Part III.

The Cities of *Flanders* should revolt.

In all probable appearance, at the approach of so great an Army, by reason of the intelligences of the principal Lords, by the insurrection of the great Cities, and of the love which these people have still had for liberty, *Flanders* would all have risen: especially when they had seen the wonderful order and exact discipline of his souldiers, who should have lived like good Guests, paying for all, and not doing the least outrage upon pain of death; and when it should be known that he laboured for the safety

The Kings Army should have lived in great order.

Part III. safety of the people, not reserving any thing of all his Conquests, but the glory and the satisfaction of having restored those Provinces to themselves, without keeping so much as a Castle or Village to himself.

The King would have reserved nothing of his Conquests.

At the same time that he had put *Flanders* into a free state, and accommodated the difference of the succession of *Cleves*, all the Princes interested in this business, the Electors we have named, and the Deputies of many great Cities, were to come and thank him, and intreat him that he would joyn his Prayers and his Authority to the supplications they had to make to the Emperour, to dispose him to restore the Estates and Cities of the Empire to their ancient Rights and Immunities; above all, in the free Election of a King of the *Romans*, without using any practices, constraints, promises and threats: And that for this effect it should be from that moment resolved, that they should elect one of another house then that of *Austria*. They had agreed among themselves, that it should be the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Pope had joyned with them in this request; which had been made with such instance, that it had been difficult for the *Emperor*, being unarmed as he was, to have refused it.

He had with other Princes prayed the Emperour to restore the Cities of the Empire to liberty.

Bohemia, *Hungary*, & *Austria*, had made the same request.

The like request had been made to the King and his Associates, by the people of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*: above all, for the right they had themselves to make choice of their Prince, and to put themselves under that form of Go-

Government they ſhould think beſt, by the advice of their friends and allies. To which the King condeſcending, had uſed all ſorts of fair means, prayers and ſupplications, even below his dignity; that it might be ſeen he intended not ſo much to ſerve himſelf of power, as of equity and reaſon. Part III.

After this the Duke of *Savoy* by the ſame way had demanded of the King of *Spain*, with all ſorts of civility, and in the name of his children, that he would be pleaſed to give them a Dower for their Mother, as good and advantagious as he had to their Aunt *Iſabella*; and in caſe of refuſal, the King was to permit *Leſdignieres* to aſſiſt him with fifteen thouſand Footmen, and two thouſand Horſe, for the Conqueſt of *Milan*, or the Country of *Lombardy*: in which he would have been favoured by the greateſt part of the Princes of *Italy*. The Duke of *Savoy* had demanded the Dower of his wife from the *Spaniard*.

This done, he with his Aſſociates were to beſeech the Pope and the *Venetians* to become Arbitrators between him and the King of *Spain*, to terminate friendly theſe differences, which were ready to break forth between them, by reaſon of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Navarre*, and *Rouſſillon*. And then to ſhew that he had no thought to aggrandize himſelf, nor other ambition then to ſettle the repoſe of *Chriſtendom*; he had ſhewed himſelf ready to yeild to the *Spaniard Navarre* and *Rouſſillon*, ſo that he reſtored *Naples* and *Sicily*; not for himſelf, for he would have no other Eſtate then The Pope and *Venetians* to become mediators of the difference of *Navarre*, *Naples*, *Savoy*, &c. And the King had yeilded his right.

Part III. then *France*; but for the Pope, and for the *Venetians*, to whom he yeilded his right over those Countries.

In fine, by a Legat Apostolick, and by the Remonstrances of all his Associates, he had let the King of *Spain* understand his design, together with the Princes of his house, and had conjured them by the blood of *Jesus Christ* to consent to it; as being Holy, Pious, Charitable, Glorious, and Profitable to all *Christendom*. They had withal laid before him the advantages which would have come to himself; and endeavoured to make him comprehend that he would be more rich, less disturbed, and more peaceable: That in twenty years *Spain*, which was almost desert, would be repeopled, and become the most flourishing Estate of *Europe*. I believe it would have been difficult to perswade him to it: for unlimited and ill designing ambition embraces rather Chimera's then solid things, and chooses rather to possess vast and desert Countries, then a reasonable extent well cultivated and well peopled: but possibly Arms might have convinced him, had reason failed.

They had perswaded the King of *Spain*, or else forced him.

For the rest, the King had resolved to renounce all pretention; not to keep any thing of what he Conquered; not to enterprize any thing, which should not be approved by his Allies, and which he saw not them disposed to contribute to; not to begin in many distant places at a time, but to pursue his expeditions by

The great Prudence and moderation intended by the King in the pursuit of his design.

by degrees, ſtill attending the ſucceſs of the Part III.
firſt, before he engaged in others: To ſhew himſelf to be without Ambition, without Covetouſneſs or Pride in the diſtribution of Quarters, Victuals, Spoils and Conqueſts: To favour weak and neceſſitated Eſtates: To ſend alwaies ſome honourable and profitable acknowledgement to Captains or Souldiers who had done ſome fair Exploit: Never to enter into thoſe partialities often conceived between friends and Allies, but to appear alwaies an equal, juſt, and common friend: To treat honourably the men of War, with praiſes or reproofs when they deſerved it, and to maintain exactly diſcipline, prohibiting Spoils, Violation and Burnings; that he might be received as the reſtorer of Nations, and he who brought Peace and Liberty, and not Ruine and Deſolation.

He had laid his deſigns, made his prepara- The prepa-
tions, and fitted all his Engines to come to rations he
this end, with all diligence imaginable, for made.
the ſpace of eight or nine years: he had made Friends and Allies on all ſides, entertained intelligences every where, had gained the Colledge of Cardinals by great penſions, had drawn to his ſervice all the good Captains in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, and had likewiſe gained all the good Pens in *Chriſtendom*: for indeed he would have choſen rather to perſwade then force people, and inſtruct them ſo well in his intentions, that they ſhould have regarded his Arms onely as Tutelar Succours.

See

Part III. See here the platform of his design; which without dissembling was so great, that it may be said, it was conceived by an intelligence more then humane. But how high soever it was, it was not above his power: "To "which if Princes proportionate not their "Enterprizes, it happens that they ruine "their Estates, just as a man who undertakes "a suit at Law, or makes greater bargains "then his purse is able to bear out, is con-"strained in the end to sell his stock, and "drown himself in a Sea of debts and "troubles.

The forces he had. Besides his forces, which were great in number, but ten times greater in valour, being all chosen men, and having amongst them four thousand Gentlemen, daring all things in the sight of their King; the Prince of *Orange* was to put himself in the field with fifteen thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse: The Prince of *Anhalt* in *Germany* had appeared with ten thousand: The Electors and Duke of *Bavaria* had in a readiness twice as many, who would have met at several Rendezvous, at the first Sound of the Trumpet: The *Venetians* and Duke of *Savoy* would each have declared with a considerable Army, at the first signal given. For the *Swisses*, besides a levy of six thousand chosen men which came to the King, he might have had as many more as he would. As for his stock of moneys, all his Troops were paid for three months; his Garisons well furnished, all his Store-

The Prince of *Oranges* Army.

That of the Electors & *German* Princes.

That of the *Venetians* and *Savoyard*.

His Exchequer for defraying this great designe.

Storehouſes on the Frontiers full; his Captains honored with great preſents which he had made them: he had fourteen Millions of Livres in the *Baſtille*, ſeven Millions in the hands of the Treaſurer of the Exchequer, of the Revenue of the preceding year; two Millions in other hands: Moreover, the accrewing Revenue, which was more then twenty ſeven Millions: and beſides all this, *Sully* his chief Treaſurer aſſured him of forty Millions extraordinary for three years; ſo that he might maintain a four years War without burthening his ſubjects with new charges. But he would do it ſo hotly, that it ſhould laſt but a ſhort time: for he held it for a Maxime, "That a wiſe Prince when he is obliged to it, "ought to make it powerful and ſhort, and at "firſt aſtoniſh the world with formidable pre- "parations, becauſe by this means it returns to "good husbandry; and the Conqueſts made "through fear of his Arms, reach farther then "thoſe made by his Arms themſelves. Part III. He would make the War powerfully, that it might be ſhort.

I have told you what was his deſign: none but God knows what would have been the ſucceſs. We may ſay however, judging according to appearances, that it could not but be happy; for there appeared no Prince nor Eſtate in *Chriſtendom*, who would not have favoured it, or who would have taken the part of the houſe of *Auſtria*, except the Duke of *Saxony* in *Germany*, and the Duke of *Florence* in *Italy*. But the King might have made them both conſent: The firſt, by aſſiſting againſt him the heirs of that Duke *William*, Great appearance it might have ſucceeded, having no Princes to oppoſe it but the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Florence*

Part III. *am*, who had formerly been despoiled of the Electorate by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. The second, by stirring up *Pisa*, *Sienna* and *Florence* to cry for liberty, and shake off their yoak under the *Medicis*.

What was the business of *Cleves* and *Juliers*.

But it is time that I tell you what was the business of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, which had furnished him with an occasion to take Arms, and opened ways to him to begin his great design. *John-Guillaume* Duke of *Juliers*, *Cleves* and *Berghes*, Earl of the *Mark* and *Ravensbourg*, Son of Duke *Guillaume*, and *Mary* of *Austria* Sister to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and Grand-child to Duke *John*, being dead without children, on the five and twentieth of *March*, in the year one thousand six hundred and nine; his Succession bred a Combustion in the neighbouring States. He had four Sisters; the first married to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*; the second to the Count Palatine of *Newbourg*; the third to the Duke of *Deux-ponts*; and the fourth to the Marquis of *Burgaw*. The children issued from these marriages, pretended to this Succession, the neareſt excluding the farthest off, and the Sons the Daughters. The Duke of *Saxony*, descended from an Elder Daughter of Duke *John* Grand-father of Duke *William*, said likewise that it preferably appertained to him, because it was concluded in the contract of the marriage of that Lady, that in case an issue Male were wanting to the house of *Juliers*, the Succession should return

Death of *John* Duke of *Juliers* without issue.

His succession disputed by many, particularly by *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg*.

turn to him and his deſcendants: Now that arriving, it neceſſarily followed that the Succeſſion was open to him. The Duke of *Nevers* pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Gleves*, as he alone carrying the Name and Arms of *Cleves*: and the Count of *Maulevrier* for the ſame reaſon demanded the County *de la Mark*, for he was the Eldeſt *de la Mark*; and in this quality he pretended likewiſe to the Dutchy of *Bouillon* and the Signory of *Sedan*, which were held by the Viſcount of *Turenne* Marſhal *de Bouillon*. The Emperour ſaid that all the pretenſions of thoſe concurrents were ill founded, for that thoſe Lands being Fiefs Maſculine, could not fall to Daughters; but in default of Males, were devolved to the Empire, and therefore he to have the diſpoſal of them. And upon this right he ſecretly gave the inveſtiture to *Leopold* of *Auſtria* Biſhop of *Strasbourg*, and ſent his forces to ſeize thoſe lands under pretext of Right, and in the mean time aſſigned the parties to appear before his Imperial Majeſty, to give in their reaſons. Part III.

The Emperour ſaid it was devolved to the Empire.

He inveſts *Leopold* of *Auſtria*,

The purſuits of the Duke of *Nevers* and the Count of *Maulevrier* were not very hot, becauſe they were made underſtand that the Fiefs they demanded were united, and could not be diſmembred. The Right of the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and that of *Newbourg*, being moſt apparent, the greateſt conteſtation was between them. The *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, their common friend, became

Part III. Mediator for them, and made them pass a transaction to decide their difference friendly, without imploying their forces, except against Usurpers; the administration of the Succession remaining equal and common amongst them, saving the Rights of the Emperour. But in the mean time *Leopold* of *Austria* arrives with his forces, and seizes *Juliers*.

who whilst *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* dispute, seizes *Juliers*.

The two Princes resolved to drive him out, sought assistance on all sides, and particularly implored the Kings: to whom they sent the Prince of *Anhalt* with the Letters of the Electors *Palatine* and of the Duke of *Wirtenbourg*, who assured him that his Arms would be just, powerful, and by the grace of God victorious. The Prince of *Anhalt* without doubt discoursed with him of many other things touching the great design. The King gave his person a most gracious reception, and received his propositions with an unparallel'd joy: he answered him in terms as obliging as he could, that he would march in person to the assistance of his good Allies; and that till such time as he could mount on horseback with an Equipage befitting a King of *France*, he would dayly make some Troops advance; which he did about the end of the year 1609. But moreover he prayed him to let the Confederate Princes understand, that they would do him great wrong, if they thought that he intended any prejudice to the *Catholick* Religion in that Country: for he desired above all things that the Exercise of it

They implore the Kings assistance,

who promises to march in person:

But tells him he intended to conserve the *Catholick* Religion in that Country.

it ſhould be conſerved in the ſame eſtate it was before the death of Duke *William*, who was a Catholick; but *Brandenbourg* and *Newbourg* were Proteſtants. Part III.

The Emperor likewiſe ſent to him Ambaſſadors, one of his chiefeſt Confidents, intreating him not to favour the rebellion and injuſtice of theſe Princes; and to conſider, that he could not aſſiſt them without doing wrong to the Catholick Religion. *Henry* the Great anſwered him, That being the Thrice-Chriſtian King, he ſhould know well how to maintain and amplifie it: but that he acted not to that intent; that the queſtion was onely about ſuccouring his friends, in which he ſhould never be wanting ſo long as he had life. Anſwer made to the Ambaſſador of the Empire.

During the whole Winter, he gave order for all preparations for this Expedition, which was onely the cover to a greater. Being reſolved to purſue himſelf the ſucceſs, he had deliberated before his departure from the Kingdome, to eſtabliſh ſo good an Order for the Government of it, that no trouble could arrive. For this effect, he believed that the beſt way was to leave the Regency to the Queen: but becauſe he knew that ſhe was governed by *Conchini*, whom he did not at all love, he would have her aſſiſted by a Council compoſed of fifteen perſons; to wit, the Cardinals of *Joyeuſe* and *du Peronne*; the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Montmorency*, and *Montbazon*; the Marſhals of *Briſſac* and *de Fervaques*, *Chaſteau-Neauf*, who ſhould have been Keeper of the He eſtabliſhes good order in the Kingdom before his departure. Leaves the Regency to the Queen, but gives her a good Council.

Part III. Seals of the Regency, for the King would take his Chancellour with him; *Achilles de Harlay* first President of Parliament; *Nicholas* first President of the Chamber of Accounts; the Count of *Chasteauvieux*, and the Lord of *Lian-court*, two wise Gentlemen; *Pontcarre*, Counsellour of Parliament; *Gesvres*, Secretary of State; and *Maupeou*, Controuller of the Revenues.

He establishes little Councils in the Provinces, who refer to the great one.

Moreover, he would establish a little Council of five persons in every one of the twelve Provinces of *France*; to wit, one person for the Clergy, one for the Nobility, one for Justice, one for the Revenues, and one for the Body of the Cities: and these twelve little Councils should have correspondence with, and dependence on the great one; which should have taken its resolutions from the plurality of voices, the Queen having onely hers. Nor could it indeed take any, but according to the general Instructions formed by the King, or without his Majesties being informed of it, if it were a thing which his Instructions did not clearly enough explain. Thus, though absent, he kept the Reins of his Government, and tied up the hands of the Queen, for fear lest she should take too much Authority, or have been induced to abuse her Command.

1610. Some put it into the spirit of the Queen, that she

Whilst he applyed his spirit to these things, some persons, amongst others *Conchini* and his wife, put it into the spirit of the Queen, that she should, to acquire more dignity and splendour in the eyes of the people, and more advan-

vantagiously to authorize her Regency, be installed and crowned before the departure of the King. For the same Reasons that she desired it, the King found it not agreeable to him; besides that this Ceremony could not be made without a great deal of expence, and without loosing much time, which would keep him at *Paris*, and retard his designes. He had an extream impatience to depart from that City; I know not what secret instinct pressed him to be gone as soon as possible: but for this reason the Instalment troubled him; yet he could not refuse this mark of his affection to the Queen, who passionately desired it. Part III. should be installed before the Kings departure. He, though unwillingly, consents.

Sully recounts that he heard him say more then once, *My Friend, this Instalment presages me some misfortune: they will kill me. I shall never depart from this City. My Enemies have no other remedy but my death: they have told me that I should be killed at the first great Magnificence that I make, and that I should die in a Coach: this makes me often times when I am in one, be assaulted with tremblings, and be fearful in despite of my self.*

They counselled him, to shun these ill Prophecies, to depart on the morrow, and leave the Instalment to be done without him: but the Queen was extreamly offended; and he good and obliging, remained onely to content her. The Instalment was made at St. *Denis* on the 13 of *May*; and the Queen on the 16 of the same moneth was to make her entrance into *Paris*, where there were erected Magnifi- The instalment of the Queen.

Part III. cent Preparations to honour this Feast.

Already had the forces of the King met at their Rendezvouz on the Frontiers of *Champagne*. Already had the Nobility, who were come from all parts, sent their Equipages: The Duke of *Rohan* was gone to gather together the six thousand *Swisses*; and there were gone fifty piece of Cannon out of the Arsenal. Already had the King sent to demand of the *Arch-duke* and the *Infanta* in what manner they would that he should pass their Country, either as a Friend, or an Enemy. Every hour of delay seemed to him a year, as if he had presaged some misfortune to himself: and certainly both Heaven and Earth had given but too many Prognosticks of what arrived. A very great Eclipse of the whole body of the Sun, which happened in the year 1608: A terrible Comet, which appeared the year preceding: Earthquakes in several places: Monsters born in divers Countries of *France:* Rains of blood, which fell in several places: A great Plague, which afflicted *Paris* in the year 1606: Apparitions of Fantosms, and many other Prodigies kept men in fear of some horrible event.

Many Prognosticks, which seemed to presage the death of *Henry* 4.

His Enemies were at present in a profound silence: which possibly was not caused onely by their Consternation, and by the fear of the success of his Arms, but out of the expectation they had to see succeed some great blow, in which lay all their hopes. It must needs be that there were many conspiracies against the Life of this good King; since from twenty places

ces advice was given of it; since both in *Spain* and *Milan* a report was spread of his death by a printed Paper; since there passed a Courrier eight days before he was assassinated, through the City of *Liege*, that said that he carried News to the Princes of *Germany* that he was killed; since at *Montargis* there was found a Billet upon the Altar, containing the prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow; since in fine, the report ran through all *France*, that he would not out-live that year, and that he would die a tragick death in the fifty seventh year of his Age. Himself, who was not over-credulous, gave some faith to these Prognosticks, and seemed as one condemned to death: So sad and cast down he was, though naturally he was neither melancholy nor fearful. Part III. Advice from several places that his life should be attempted. He seems to believe them, and fear.

There had been at *Paris* for about two years, a certain wicked Rogue, named *Francis Ravaillac*, a Native of the Country of *Angoumois*; red haired, down-looked, and melancholy, who had been a Monk; but after having quitted the Frock he before professed, was turned Sollicitor of businesses, and come to *Paris*. It was not known whether he was brought hither to give this blow, or whether being come out of some other designe, he had been induced to this execrable enterprize by those people, who knowing that he had yet in his heart some leven of the League, and that false perswasion that the King was about to overturn the Catholick Religion in *Germany*, judged him proper for the blow. Who *Ravaillac* was. He is induced to kill the King, but it is not known by whom.

If

Part III. If it be demanded who were the Devils and Furies who inspired him with so damnable a thought, and who spurred him forward to effect his wicked disposition; the History answers that it knows nothing; and that in a thing so important, it is not permitted to make pass suspitions and conjectures for assured truths. The Judges themselves who examined him, durst not open their mouths, nor ever spoke but covertly.

The King departs the *Louvre* to go to the Arsenal.

But see here how he executed his wicked designe! On the morrow after the Instalment, being the 14 of *May*, the King went forth of the *Louvre* about four a Clock in the Evening, to go to the Arsenal to visit *Sully*, who was indisposed, and to see as he passed the preparations made at the Bridge of *Nostre-dame* and the *Hostel de Ville* for the reception of the Queen. He was at the bottom of his Coach, having the Duke of *Espernon* by his side: the Duke of *Montbazon*, the Marshal of *Lavardin*, *Roquelaure*, *Laforce*, *Mirebeau*, and *Liancour* chief Esquire, were before, and in the Boots. His Coach entring out of the street of St. *Honorio* into that of the *Ferronnerie*, or Ironmongers, found on the right hand a Cart laden with Wine, and on the left another laden with Hay; which causing some trouble, he was constrained to stop: for the street is very narrow by reason of the shops builded against the wall of the Church-yard of St. *Innocents*. King *Henry* the second had formerly commanded them to be beaten down, to render that passage

What persons were with him.

His Coach stopt in the street of the *Ferronnerie*.

passage more free: but it was not executed. Alas, that one half of *Paris* had not rather been beaten down, then it have seen this great misfortune, which hath been the cause of so many infinite other miseries! The Foot-men being passed through the Church-yard of St. *Innocents* to avoid the trouble, and no person being near the Coach, this wicked person, who for a long time had obstinately followed the King to give his blow, observing the side on which he sate, thrust himself between the shops and the Coach; and setting one foot on one of the spokes of the wheel, and the other against a stall, with an enraged resolution gave him a stab with a knife between the second and third Rib, a little beneath the heart. At this blow the King cryed out, *I am wounded.* But the Villain, without being affrighted, redoubled it, and struck him in the heart; of which he died immediately, without so much as casting forth a sigh. The Murderer was so assured, that he yet gave a third blow, which light only in the sleeve of the Duke of *Mombazon.* Afterwards he neither took care to flee, nor to conceal his knife; but stood still, as if to make himself be seen, and to glorifie or boast in so fair an exploit. Part III. *Ravaillac* killeth him.

He was taken on the place, examined by the Commissioners of Parliament, judged by the Chamber of Assemblies, and by sentence drawn by four horses in the *Greve*, after having had the flesh of his breasts, his arms and thighs, drawn off with burning Pincers, without his testifying He is torn with burning pincers, and drawn in pieces by four horses.

Part III. teſtifying the leaſt emotion of fear or grief at ſo ſtrange tortures. Which ſtrongly confirmed the ſuſpition had, that certain Emiſſaries under the mask of Piety and Religion had inſtructed and inchanted him with falſe aſſurances that he ſhould die a Martyr, if he killed him whom they made believe was the ſworn enemy of the Church.

The Kings body opened, and found that he might yet live 30 years.

The Duke *d'Eſpernon* ſeeing the King ſpeechleſs and dead, cauſed the Coach to turn, and carried his body to the *Louvre*, where he cauſed it to be opened in the preſence of twenty ſix Phyſitians and Chirurgeons; who found all parts ſo ſound, that in the courſe of Nature he might yet have lived thirty years.

His Entrails were the ſame hour ſent to St. *Denis*, and interr'd without any Ceremony. The Fathers Jeſuites demanded the heart, and carried it to their Church *de la Fleche*, where this great King had given them his houſe to build that fair Colledge at preſent ſeen. The Corps embalmed in a ſheet of Lead, covered with a Coffin of Wood, and a cloath of Gold over it, was placed in the Kings Chamber under a Canopy, with two Altars on each ſide, on which Maſs was ſaid for eighteen days continuance. Afterwards it was conducted to St. *Denis*, where it was buried with the ordinary Ceremonies, eight days after that of *Henry* the third his Predeceſſor. For it is to be underſtood, that the body of *Henry* the third remained till then in the Church of St. *Cornille* in *Compeigne*, from whence the Duke of

He is buried at St. *Denis*.

Eſpernon

Eſpernon, and *Bellegarde* great Eſquire, formerly his favourites, brought it to St. *Denis*, and cauſed his funerals to be celebrated; Civility obliging that he ſhould be buried before his Succeſſor. Part III.

The Kings death was concealed from the City all the reſt of that day, and a good part of the morrow; whilſt the Queen diſpoſed the Grandees and the Parliament to give her the Regency. She obtained it without much difficulty, having led the young King her Son to the Parliament; and the Prince of *Conde*, and the Count of *Soiſſons*, who alone could have oppoſed it, being abſent. The firſt was at *Milan*, as we have ſaid before; and the ſecond at his houſe at *Blandy*, whither he was retired diſcontented, ſome days before the Inſtalment of the Queen.

The Queen made Regent.

When the fame of this Tragical accident was ſpread through *Paris*, and that they knew aſſuredly that the King whom they believed only wounded, was dead; that mixture of hope and fear which kept this great City in ſuſpence, broke forth on a ſuddain into extravagant cries, and furious groans. Some through grief became immoveable & Statue-like; others ran through the ſtreets like mad men; others embraced their friends, without ſaying any thing, but, *Oh what misfortune!* ſome ſhut themſelves up in their houſes; others threw themſelves upon the ground: women were ſeen with their diſheveled haire run about howling and lamenting: Fathers told their

The great deſolation in *Paris*, when they knew of the Kings death.

Part III. their Children, *What will become of you, my Children? you have lost your Father.* Those who had most apprehension of the time to come, and who remembred the horrible calamities of the past Wars, lamented the misfortune of *France*, and said, that that accursed blow which had pierced the heart of the King, cut the throat of all true *French-men*. It is reported that many were so lively touched that they died, some upon the place, and others a few days after. In fine, this seemed not to be mourning for the death of one man alone, but for the one half of all men: It might have been said, that every one had lost his whole family, all his goods, and all his hopes, by the death of this great King.

His age, and the time of of his reign.

He died at the age of fifty seven years and five months, the thirty eighth of his reign of *Navarre*, and the one and twentieth of that of *France*.

His two wives, *Margaret* and *Mary*.

He was married twice, as we have said before: First with *Margaret* of *France*, by whom he had no children: The second time with *Mary* of *Medicis*. *Margaret* was Daughter to King *Henry* the second, and Sister to the Kings *Francis* the second, *Charles* the ninth, and *Henry* the third; from whom he was divorced by sentence of the Prelates deputed for that purpose from the Pope. *Mary* of *Medicis* was Daughter to *Francis*, and Niece to *Ferdinand* Dukes of *Florence*. She had three Sons and three Daughters.

He had three Sons by *Mary*,

The Sons were all born at *Fontain-bleau*.

The

The first named *Louis*, came into the world on the 27 *September*, in the year 1601. at Eleven a Clock at night. He was King after him, and had the Surname of Just. The second was born on the 16 of *April* 1607. he had the title of Duke of *Orleans*; but no name, because he died before the Ceremony of his Baptism was celebrated, in the year 1611. The third took birth on the 25 of *April* 1608. and was named *John Baptista Gaston*, and had title Duke of *Anjou:* but the second Son being dead, that of Duke of *Orleans* was given him, which he bore to his death, which happened two years ago. Part III.

The eldest of the Daughters was born at *Fontain-bleau*, the 22 of *November* 1602. she was the second child, and was named *Elizabeth*, or *Isabella:* she was married to *Philip* the fourth King of *Spain*, and died some years past. She was a Princess of a great heart, and had a spirit and brain above her Sex: the *Spaniards* therefore said, that she was truly Daughter to *Henry* the Great. The second was born at the *Louvre* at *Paris* the 10. of *February* 1606. There was given to her the name of *Christina*; and she Espoused *Victor Amadeo*, then Prince of *Piedmont*, and after Duke of *Savoy*; a Prince of the greatest vertue and capacity in the world. The third was born in the same place, on the 25. of *November*, being the Feast of St. *Katherine*, in the year 1609. and had name *Henrietta-Maria*. This is the present Queen-Mother of *England*, widow and three Daughters.

Part III. widow of the unfortunate King *Charles Stuart*, whom his Subjects cruelly despoiled of his Royalty and Life: but heaven, the protector of Soveraigns, hath gloriously re-established his Son *Charles* the second.

He had eight Natural children of divers Mistresses. Two Sons and a Daughter of *Gabriella*.

Besides these six Legitimate children, he had likewise eight Natural ones, of four different Mistresses, without counting those whom he did not own.

Of *Gabriella d' Estrees* Marchioness of *Monceaux* and Dutchess of *Beaufort*, he had *Cæsar* Duke of *Vendosme*, who yet lives, and was born in the month of *June* in the year 1594; *Alexander* great Prior of *France*, who died prisoner of Estate; and *Henrietta*, married to *Charles* of *Lorrain* Duke of *Elbeuf*.

A Son and a Daughter of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*.

Of *Henrietta de Balsac d' Entragues*, whom he made Marchioness of *Verneuil*, he had *Henry* Bishop of *Mets*, who yet lives; and *Gabriella*, who Espoused *Bernard* of *Nogaret* Duke of *Valette*, at present Duke of *Espernon*, by whom she had the Duke of *Candale*, dead some time since; and a Daughter at present a Religious Carmilite: after which she died.

Of the Countess of *Moret* one Son.

Of *Jacqueline de Bueil*, to whom he gave the County of *Moret*, was born *Anthony* Count of *Moret*, who was killed in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, in the Battail of *Castlenaudary*, where the Duke of *Montmorency* was taken. This was a young Prince, whose Spirit and Courage promised much. The Marquis of *Vardes* Espoused afterward this *Jacqueline de Bueil*.

Of

Of *Charlotta d' Essards*, to whom he gave the land of *Romorantin*, came two Daughters; *Jane*, who is Abbesse of *Fontevrault*; and *Mary-Henrietta*, who was of *Chelles*. He loved all his children Legitimate and Natural with a like affection, but with different consideration. He would not that they should call him *Monsieur*, or *Sir*; a name which seemed to render Children strangers to their Fathers, and which denoted servitude and subjection; but that they should call him *Papa*, a name of tenderness and love. And certainly in the Old Testament, God took the names of Lord, the Mighty God, the God of Hosts, and others, to set forth his greatness and power: but in the Christian Law, which is a Law of Grace and Charity, he commanded us to make our Prayers as his Children, by those sweet words, *Our Father which art in Heaven.*

Part III. Of *Madam d' Essards* two daughters.

He loved all his children, and would have them call him *Papa.*

There remains at present that we put here a Summary recapitulation of the Life of this great King, and after erect an Eternal Monument to his glory, in the name of all *France*, which can never sufficiently acknowledge its Immortal obligations to his Heroick vertue.

Summary recital of the Life of *Henry* the Great.

He began the first motions of his life in the Camp, at the Sound of Trumpets; his Mother brought him into the world with a wonderful courage; his Grand-father inspired strength into him the first day he saw him; and he was brought up to labor from his tendereſt infancy.

The first knowledge that age gave him, was to resent the death of his Father killed at the

Part III. siege of *Rouen*, and to see himself encompassed with dangers on all sides, distant from Court, his friends dis-favoured, his servants persecuted, and his ruine conjured by his enemies.

His Mother, a generous and able woman, gave him excellent instructions for Morality and Policy; but very ill ones for Religion; so that he was a *Hugonot* by Engagement, and not by Election. And he often professed that he was not prepossessed, that he should be ready to clear and lay himself open, and that if they could make him see a better way then that he followed, he willingly and faithfully would walk in it; but that till then he was to be tolerated, and not persecuted.

At the age of fifteen years he became chief of the *Hugonot* party, and gave such sensible advices, that the greatest Captains had cause to admire him, and to repent that they had not followed him. He passed the first flowers of his youth, part in Arms, and a part in his Lands of *Gascoin*, where he remained till the age of nineteen years. He was then enticed to come to Court, by a Marriage as illegitimate as cruel: for we may say, that the present Nuptial was the suddain death of his Mother; the Feast, the general Massacre of his friends; and the Morrow of his Marriage, his Captivity, which endured almost four years, at the mercy of his most cruel enemies, and in a Court the most wicked and most corrupted that ever was known. His courage was not at all weakned by this servitude, nor could his soul be infected

infected among ſo many corruptions: But the Charms of the Ladies which Queen *Katherine* made uſe of to retain him, begat in him that weakneſs and vice which indured all his life, not to refuſe any of thoſe deſires their beauty inſpired. Part III.

To withdraw himſelf from the ſervitude of the Court, he caſt himſelf into the ſnare of his ancient party; and of the *Hugonot* Religion. He received all thoſe troubles, and all thoſe perplexities which the Chiefs of a Civil War make proof of; his dignity of General not diſpenſing with the pains and dangers of a ſimple Souldier. Thrice did he oblige the Court to grant him Peace and Priviledges to his party: but thrice they violated them; and he ſeveral times beheld ſeven or eight Royal Armies make head againſt him.

His valour, which had already appeared in many occaſions, ſignalized it ſelf with great Renowne at the Battail of *Coutras*. This was the firſt important blow that he ſtruck on the head of the League. A little after it, having aſſembled the Eſtates at *Blois*, to Arm the whole Kingdom againſt him, and exclude him from the Crown of *France*; the *Guiſes*, who were believed the Authors of this Tragedy, were themſelves made the terrible *Cataſtrophe*; but which filled all with flame, blood and confuſion. The Duke of *Mayenne* Armed himſelf to Revenge the Death of his Brothers; and the King almoſt quite abandoned and ſhut up in *Tours*, was enforced to call him to his aid.

Part III. Our *Hero* passed by all distrusts and all fears some would have infused into him, to take the part of his Soveraign.

They marched to *Paris* and besieged it: but upon the point to enter, *Henry* the third is Assassinated by a Monk. The right of Succession calling our *Henry* to the Throne, he found the way crossed with a thousand terrible difficulties; the League in head against him, the servants of the defunct King little affected to him, the Grandees every one for his particular ends. The whole Catholick Religion Leagued against him; without, the *Spaniard*, the *Pope*, the *Savoyard*, the *Lorrainer*; within, on one side the people and the great Cities, on the other the *Hugonots*, who tormented him with their continual distrusts. He could not advance one pace without finding some obstacle; so many days, so many battails. His subjects endeavoured to overthrow him as a publick enemy, and he endeavoured to regain them like a good Father. In his Closet, and in his Council, there were only displeasures and bitternesses, caused by an infinity of discontents, treasons and pernicious designs, which were from moment to moment discovered against his Person and against his Estate. Every day a double Combat, a double Victory; the one against his enemies, the other against his followers: using Prudence and Cunning, where Generosity would not serve.

At *Arques* he made it appear he could not be overcome; and at *Yvry*, that he knew how

to

to vanquish. Every where, where he appeared, all yeilded to his Arms: The League dayly lost places and Provinces: It was beaten by his Lieutenants in other places, as by himself in the heart of his Kingdom. He had forced *Paris*, if he could have resolved to loose it; but by sparing it, he absolutely gained not onely its walls, but its hearts. Part III

The Duke of *Parma* stopt a little the progress of his successes; but he could not change their course. Vertue and Fortune, or rather Divine Providence, seemed linked together to crown him with Glory. God visibly assisted him in all his designes, and preserved him from an infinite number of treasons and horrid attempts which were dayly formed against his Life. In fine, he overthrew the intentions of the Thirdlings, and prevented the resolutions of the Estates of the League, by causing himself to be instructed in the Catholick Religion, and re-entring into the bosome of the holy Church.

When that pretext of Religion was wanting to his enemies, all the party of the League mouldred away; *Paris*, and all the great Cities, acknowledged him; the Duke of *Mayenne*, though very late, was constrained to become his subject, and return to his duty; and all the Chiefs of the League treated separately. This shew'd a great deal of prudence and cunning in the King, to receive them thus disjoyntly: for if they had all together made a treaty of common accord, the party had by this means conserved its bonds together, and not been overthrown, but appeased.

Part III. When he had got the upperhand in his Affairs, and was reconciled to the Pope, and that his subjects were reconciled with him, the ill counsel of the *Hugonots*, who desired always to see him in trouble, perswaded him to declare a War against *Spain*. It was now that he thought he should fall into a worse Estate then ever. They took from him *Dourlens* after the gain of one battel; *Calais* and *Ardres* by storm, and *Amiens* by surprize. The rest of the League which lay hid under the cinders, began to rekindle; the discontents of the great ones, to be discovered; Conspiracies were formed on all sides; his servants were amazed, his enemies emboldened. But his Vertue, which seemed to sleep in prosperity, rouzed it self in adversity: he encouraged his friends, re-took *Amiens*, and forced the *Spaniard* to make peace by the treaty of *Vervin*.

The Duke of *Savoy*, thinking to deceive him in the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, and to raise factions in his Realm which should hinder the King from demanding reason of him, found that he had to do with a Prince who knew as well how to over-reach him in his designes, as to conquer his forces: for he forced him among those rocks where he boasted he had nothing to fear but the thunder-bolts of Heaven, and made him shamefully restore what he had unjustly usurped.

At the same time the King had thoughts, as well for the security and tranquillity of *France*, as for his own, to generate Children of a lawful mar-

marriage. Heaven gave him ſix, and with them a peace of ten years, which was onely lightly troubled by the conſpiracy of *Byron*, by the devices of the Duke of *Bouillon*, and by ſome popular riſings againſt the *Pancarte*, or *Sol pour livre*. Part III.

During all this, he laboured principally for two things: the one, his great deſigne, of which we have ſpoken; for which he made friends and allies on all ſides, cleared his revenues, paid his debts with as good credit as if he had been a Merchant, gathered monies, and pacified all differences which were between thoſe Princes with whom he would aſſociate. The other was to repair the damages and ruines of *France*, which a forty years civil War had cauſed; remove thoſe cauſes which imbittered and divided ſpirits; reform thoſe diſorders which diſfigured the face of the Eſtate; make it flouriſhing and rich, to the end his ſubjects might live happily under the wings of his protection and his juſtice.

In the mean time himſelf was not free from troubles, perplexities and diſguſts: his Miſtreſſes cauſed him a thouſand vexations in the midſt of his pleaſures: he found thorns even in his Nuptial-bed, and in the ill humour of his wife; and *Concbini* was cauſer of griefs to him: juſt as a little but vexatious Mouſe may furiouſly trouble and turmoile the noble Lyon.

As he was ready to mount on horſe-back to begin his great deſigne by the aſſiſtance of his Allies, he loſt his Life by the moſt deteſtable Parricide was ever known. Thus he whom ſo

Part III. many Pikes, so many Musquets and Cannons, so many Squadrons and Battalions of men, could not hurt in the trenches and in the field of battel, was killed with a Knife by a wicked and trayterous Rogue, in the midst of his capital City, in a Coach, and on a day of publick Joy. Unhappy blow, which put an end to all the joys of *France*, and which opened a wound which to this day hath left its scar.

Henry was of a middle stature, disposed and active, hardened to labour and travel. His body was well formed, his temperament able and strong, and his health perfect; onely about the age of fifty years, he had some light assaults of the Gout, but which soon passed away, and left behinde them no weakness. He had his forehead high, his eyes lively and assured, his nose Aquiline, his complexion ruddy, his countenance sweet and noble; and yet withal, his presence Warlike and Martial, his hair brown, and very thin. He wore his beard large, and his hair very short. He began to grow gray at the age of thirty five years: upon which he was accustomed to say to those who wonder'd at it, *It is the wind of my adversities hath blown me this.*

Parallel of his adversities and prosperities.

" Indeed to consider well all his life from his " very birth, few Princes will be found who " have suffered so much as he; and it will be " difficult to tell if he had more crosses or more " prosperities. He was born the Son of a King, " but of a King despoiled of his Estates. He had " a Mother generous, and of a great courage; " but a *Hugonot*, and an enemy of the Court.

" He

"He gained the battel of *Contras*; but he loſt a Part III.
"little after the Prince of *Conde* his Couſin, and
"his right hand. The League ſtirred up his
"vertue, and made him know it; but it thought
"to overthrow him. It was the cauſe that the
"King having called him to his aſſiſtance, he
"found himſelf at the gates of *Paris*, as if God
"had led him by the hand: but *Paris* arm-
"ed it ſelf againſt him, and all his hopes were
"almoſt diſſipated by the ſcattering of the Ar-
"my which beſieged that City. It was without
"doubt a great happineſs that the Crown of
"*France* fell to him, there having never been a
"ſucceſſion more diſtant in any hereditary E-
"ſtate: for there were ten or eleven degrees
"between *Henry* the third and him; and when
"he was born, there was nine Princes of the
"blood before him: to wit, King *Henry* 2. and
"his five ſons; King *Anthony* of *Navarre* his
"father, and two ſons of that *Anthony*, eldeſt
"brothers of our *Henry*. All theſe Princes di-
"ed to make room for his ſucceſſion: But he
"found it ſo embroyled, that we may ſay he
"ſuffered an infinity of labours, pains and ha-
"zards, before he could gather the fair flowers
"of this Crown. Young he eſpouſed the ſiſter
"of King *Charles*, which ſeemed a match very
"advantagious for him: but this marriage was
"a ſnare to entrap both him and his friends.
"Afterwards, that Lady, in ſtead of being his
"Conſort, became his trouble; and in ſtead of
"being his honour, became his ſhame. His ſe-
"cond Wife brought him forth fair children,

"to

Part III. "to his no little joy: but her grumblings and "diſdains were the cauſers of a thouſand diſ- "contents. He triumphed over all his ene- "mies, and became Arbitrator of *Chriſtendom*: "but the more powerful he made himſelf, the "more was their hatred envenomed, and the "more means uſed they to deſtroy him; ſo that "after having plotted an infinite number of "conſpiracies againſt his life, they found in the "end a *Ravaillac*, who executed in the end "what ſo many * others had failed in.

"Now it muſt be acknowledged that all theſe "adverſities which he ſuffered, ought to whet "his ſpirit and his courage; and that in fine he "ſhould be the greateſt of Kings, becauſe he "came to the Crown through ſo many diffi- "culties, and in an age very mature.

"And certainly it is difficult and very rare "for thoſe who are born to a Crown, and bred "up to a near hope to mount into a Throne "after the death of their father, or who finde "themſelves too ſoon raiſed to it, ever to learn "well the Art of raigning; be it their not being "ſo happy as to be educated under the care of "a Mother ſo vertuous and ſo affectionate as "that great Queen, who hath ſo diligently cau- "ſed to be inſtructed King *Lewis* the 14 her "ſon in all good Rules, and in all Maximes of "Chriſtian Policy; or ſo happy as to be bleſ- "ſed with a Miniſter ſo wiſe and ſo intereſted "for their good, as that young Monarch hath "found in the perſon of Cardinal *Mazarine*.

"The reaſons of this are, that ordinarily "thoſe

* *There are more then fifty conſpiracies againſt his perſon.*

His adverſities whet his ſpirit and courage.

Why Princes who come young to the Crown, ſeldome learn to govern well.

"those persons into whose hands they fall in Part III.
"their infancy, desiring to conserve to them-
"selves the Authority and the Government, in
"stead of obliging or indeed constraining them
"to apply their spirits to things solid and ne-
"cessary, act so cunningly, that they employ
"them onely in trifles unworthy of them, and
"amuse them with so much subtilty, that it is
"impossible that a young Prince can know it.
"In stead of laying incessantly before their eyes
"the true Grandeur of Kings, which consists in
"the exercise of their Authority, they feed
"them onely with appearances and images of
"that greatness, as are exteriour pomps and
"magnificences, wherein there is onely pride
"and vanity. In fine, in stead of instructing them
"diligently in what they ought to know, and in
"what they ought to do, (for all the knowledge
"of Kings ought to be reduced into practice)
"they keep them in a profound ignorance of all
"their Affairs, that they may always be Masters,
"and that they may never be able to be with-
"out them. From whence it happens that a
"Prince, though he be great, knowing his
"own weakness, judges himself incapable to
"govern; and from that moment wherein
"he is possessed with this opinion, he must
"needs renounce the conduct of his Estate, if
"that he have not indeed extraordinary natu-
"ral qualities, and a heart truly Royal. More-
"over, these persons would seize themselves of
"all Avenues, and hinder honest men from ap-
"proaching those tender ears: or if they cannot

"hinder

Part III. "hinder their approaches, they are not wanting
"to render them suspected, or to deprive them
"of all belief in the spirit of these young Prin-
"ces, making them pass with them either for
"their enemies, or people ill affected, or else
"for ridiculous or impertinent. Moreover,
"they have some Emissaries who infatuate
"them with flatteries, with excessive praises
"and adorations; who never let them know
"any thing but what shall be to their ends;
"who improve their defaults by continual
"complacences; who make them believe they
"have a perfect intelligence of all things, when
"they know nothing; who make them con-
"ceive that Royalty is onely a Soveraign Bau-
"ble, that travel befits not a King, and that
"the functions of Royalty being laborious, are
"by consequence base and servile. In this man-
"ner they soon disgust them with their own
"Command: they accustom them to have
"Masters, because they have yet neither so
"much knowledge nor so much courage as to
"be Masters. And thus these poor Princes,
"being not at all contradicted, but always a-
"dored; nor having any experience of them-
"selves, or ever suffered pain or necessity, be-
"come often presumptuous and absolute in
"their fancies, and believing their puissance
"to have Peerage with that of Gods: they be-
"gin to consider nothing but their passion,
"their pleasure and humour, as if Mankinde
"were created for them, whilst they were
"created wisely to order and govern Mankind;

"who

"who let profusion and waste be made of the "life and goods of their subjects; and who "with an unparallel'd insensibility, hearken no "more to their Laments and Groans, then to "the Lowings of a slaughtered Ox. Part III.

"On the contrary, those who come to the "Crown at a greater distance, and in a riper "age, are almost always better instructed in "their affairs: they apply themselves more "strongly to Govern their Estates; they will "alwaies hold the Rudder; they are juster, "more tender, and more merciful; they "know better how to manage their Revenues; "they conserve with more care the blood and "the goods of their subjects; they more wil- "lingly hear their complaints, and do better "Justice; they do not with so much vigor use "their absolute power, which oft-times makes "the people despair, and causes strange revo- "lutions. Those who come to a Crown at greater distance and a more ripe age, are more capable and better.

"If the reasons why they are so be sought, "they are because they have been in a Post or "place, where they have often heard truth: "where they have understood what ignominy "it is for a Prince not to enjoy his own perso- "nal power, but to leave it to another: where "though they have had some flatterers, they "have likewise had open enemies, who by "censuring their faults have induced a Refor- "mation: where they have heard blamed the "faults of that Government under which they "were, and have blamed them themselves; so "that they are obliged to do better, and not The reasons of it.

"to

Part III. "to follow what they have condemned: where "they have ſtudied to govern themſelves "wiſely, becauſe they were dependants, and "fearful of puniſhment: where they have of-"ten heard the complaints of particular per-"ſons, and ſeen the miſeries of the people: in "fine, where they have underſtood by ſuffer-"ing, what evil is; and to have pity of thoſe "who ſuffer injuſtice, becauſe they themſelves "have proved the rigour of a too high and ſe-"vere Government. We have two fair Ex-"amples in *Lewis* the twelfth, ſurnamed *the* "*Father of the people*, and in our *Henry*, two "of the beſt Kings who in the laſt ages have "born the Scepter of the Flowers *de Lis*.

A myſtick Crown to the glory of *Henry* the Great.

Now who would gather together and worthily compoſe all the Heroick vertues, the Noble actions and Eminent qualities of *Henry* the Great, would make him a Crown much more precious and reſplendent then that wherewith his head was adorned on the day of his Coronation. That treaſure of freedom and ſincerity, free and exempt from malice, from gall and bitterneſs, ſhould be the matter more precious then Gold. His Renown and his Glory, which will never have end, ſhould be the Circle. His Victories of *Coutras*, of *Arques*, of *Ivry*, of *Fontaine-Franzoiſe*; his Negotiations of the peace of *Vervin*, of his accommodations between the *Venetians* and the Pope, of the Truce between the *Spaniard* and the *Hollander*, and that great League with all the Princes of *Chriſtendom*, for execution of the

deſigne

deſigne of which we have ſpoken, ſhould be the branches. Then his warlike valour, his generoſity, his conſtancy, his credit, his wiſdome, his prudence, his activity, his vigilance, his œconomy, his juſtice, and a hundred other virtues, ſhould be the precious ſtones. Amongſt which, that Paternal and Cordial love he had for his people, would caſt a fire more lively and bright then the Carbuncle: The firmneſs of his courage, alwaies invincible in dangers, would bear the Price and Beauty of a Diamond: And his unparallel'd Clemency, which raiſed up thoſe enemies he had overthrown, would appear like an Emerald, which ſends forth enlivenings and joy into the eyes of all that behold it. To continue the *Metamorphoſis*; I will yet ſay, that ſo many wiſe Laws which he made for Juſtice, for Policy, and for his Revenues; ſo many good and uſeful Eſtabliſhments of all ſorts of Manufactures, which produced to *France* the yearly profit of many Millions; ſo many proud buildings, as the Galleries of the *Louvre*, the *Pont-neuf*, the *Place Royal*, the *Colledge Royal*, the Keys for Merchants of the River *Seine*, *Fontain-bleau*, *Monceaux*, St. *Germain*; ſo many publick works, Bridges, Cauſwaies, Highwaies repaired; ſo many Churches rebuilded in many places of the Realm, ſhould be as the Ingravements and Imbelliſhments. Part III.

Let us Crown then with a thouſand prayſes the immortal memory of that great King, the love of the *French*, and the terror of the *Spani-*

Part. III. *Spaniards*; the Honour of his age, and the Admiration of Posterity: Let us make him live in our hearts and in our affections, in despite of the rage of those wicked persons deprived him of life: Let us shout forth as many Acclamations to his glory, as he hath done benefits to *France*. He was a *Hercules*, who cut off the Head of the *Hydra*, by overturning the League. He was greater then *Alexander*, and greater then *Pompey*, because he was as Valiant; but he was more Just: he gained as many victories, but he gained more hearts. He conquered the *Gaules*, as well as *Julius Cæsar*; but he conquered them to give them liberty, and *Cæsar* subjugated them to enslave them. Let his Name then be raised above that of the *Hercules*, the *Alexanders*, the *Pompeys*, and the *Cæsars*: Let his Reign be the Model of good Kings, and his Examples the clear Lights to illuminate the eyes of other Princes: Let his Posterity be Eternally Crowned with the Flowers *de Lis*; Let them be alwaies happy, alwaies Triumphant. And to compleat our wishes, let *Lewis* the Victorious his Grand-child, Resemble, or if it be possible, Surpass him.

FINIS.